JAN. 27, 1947

New Republic

How divided are the Liberals?

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Henry A. Wallace EDITOR

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New Republic

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Letter of the Week

In view of the widespread public interest in recent progressive-movement developments, the New Republic *invited James Loeb Jr. of the Americans for Democratic Action to make the following statement. Loeb is secretary of the ADA's organizing committee.*

On page 45 appears a letter from Frank Kingdon and Jo Davidson, co-chairmen of the Progressive Citizens of America. – THE EDITORS

SIR:

From March, 1933, until mid-April, 1945, American liberals clung to the illusion that they had "achieved power." In retrospect it is clear that Franklin D. Roosevelt came into office in the political vacuum created by the Hoover depression and retained office through magnificent social improvisation and an unrivaled political personality. Throughout this long and significant era of the ascendancy of progressive ideas in government, however, there never existed an authentic liberal coalition which could survive the loss of Roosevelt. There was no functioning political movement that could independently carry the banner of liberalism into the post-Roosevelt era. The last illusion of progressive strength collapsed on November 5. Out of that collapse has come a historic realignment of the potentially vast legions of American progressivism.

On January 4, a representative and impressive assemblage of liberal and labor leadership met in Washington to formulate the key principles and lay the organizational foundation for the reconstruction of US progressivism. They embarked on the long, hard task of recreating a liberal climate of opinion in which the fight against political reaction could be effectively waged. The conference marked a dramatic union of political liberals and progressive labor leaders, drawn from the AFL and the CIO alike. Clearly a one-day conference could only offer the occasion for beginning the job. But it was a momentous beginning. All of the participants recognized the size of the problem. Amer-

(*Continued on page 46*)

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The response to Henry Wallace's editorship has been to double the New Republic's circulation. Our average net paid circulation estimate for the next six months will be 100,000 weekly or higher. Two hundred and fifty thousand people are now reading the new New Republic each week and it is exciting an unheard-of volume of newspaper comment. The new New Republic is today liberalism's most effective single voice.

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New Republic

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News in Focus

I + I = 4

National Defense

WORD raced through the White House that a big story was coming. Beaming, the President announced to a small group of Senators, and soon afterward to the public, that the Army and the hitherto reluctant Navy had agreed upon a plan for the unification of the armed services. It was an "admirable compromise." The President "heartily" approved.

The announcement provoked big, black, excited "merger" headlines in the next morning's press. More were to come. General Eisenhower, Admiral Nimitz, grim old Admiral Leahy, the Secretaries of War and Navy assembled in the White House to register, for the press and photographers, their personal approval. While cameras ground and flood lamps flickered in movie-première fashion, the brass and braid spoke expected words of praise. For the cabinet, Secretary of Navy Forrestal added his "me, too."

After the first dazzling splendor had faded, however, more somber facts emerged:

¶ Instead of welding the services together into a single department—the initial aim of merger—the unification plan created a brand new office holder, a Secretary of National Defense, who would preside over three, full-fledged, independent services (Army, Navy and Air Force). By this proliferation the Army and Navy had resolved their unification problem in a well tested Washington way: The union had produced four watchdogs of national defense instead of one. The Washington *Post* called it "quadruplication."

¶ Merger was supposed to put an end to the kind of disunity and rivalry which had caused the debacle of Pearl Harbor. To this end, the unification plan proposed that the Secretary of National Defense establish "common policies and a common program" for the three equalized services, and "exercise control over their common efforts." But there were holes. The separate Secretaries of Army, Navy and Air could run to the President any time they wished, as long as they first "informed" their legal boss, the Secretary of National Defense. The Army described the new setup as a "team, integrated at the top." How well the team stayed integrated depended entirely upon the strength of personality of the man appointed to sit in the President's cabinet. One of the candidates very much in the running for the Secretary of National Defense job was said to be the Navy's own Jimmy Forrestal.

¶ Merger had been counted on to save money. In 1947, the armed services would cost $11 billion, about 30 percent of the total budget. The President, in his State-of-the-Union message, had described unification as "one certain way by which we can cut costs." It was doubtful that the proposed scheme would do the trick. Major General Lauris Norstad, the Army's chief man in the negotiations, conceded that the creation of new coördinating agencies "naturally" meant increased costs. He was hopeful that, ultimately, greater efficiency would increase "possibilities" of savings.

¶ The "admirable compromise" also provided for a Council of National Defense and a Security Resources Board. Their exact character and how much control they would exercise over the economy in war and in peace were not spelled out. The services were expected to ask for boards enjoying the type of economic powers handled in World War II by the War Production Board. The WPB at times had mildly checkmated military plans in order to keep the civilian economy functioning.

The whole agreement was meaningless until such time as it was enacted into law. Congressmen quickly expressed relief that the two warring services had finally gotten together. Senator Chan Gurney, chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, said that the compromise would "take a load off Congress." Doubts and criticisms were in the offing. But relief was still sufficient to promote talk of bipartisan sponsorship of the bill which Army and Navy lawyers were preparing. The bill would be introduced promptly. Hearings would begin shortly thereafter. Chances were excellent that some kind of unification plan would be passed in the current Congress.

THE fate of the more extensive merger proposal which President Truman sent to Congress back in December, 1945, had been distinctly different. The Navy had managed to lobby that one to death. Last June, the President impatiently ordered the two jealous services to get together on their own hook. Ferdinand A. Eberstadt, a New York investment banker who earned the friendship of the military during his stormy career as vice-chairman of the WPB, turned up to help the Navy cut down Army demands for a strong, unified department of national defense.

The eventual compromise was helped along also by Forrestal's conviction that if the services did not come up with a unification plan of their own, the present Congress might hand them one less to their liking. That turned the trick. In this mood, the Navy made a few grudging concessions, while keeping its identity, its own aviation and the Marine Corps. The Air Forces secured the recog-

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nition they were looking for, and the Army gave up nothing vital. By superimposing another layer on top of all the quarreling branches, enough frosting had been left for all.

Definition of Liberal

The Press

How open-minded are US liberals? A discouraging answer came last week from Frederick Lewis Allen, editor of *Harper's*. Before a publishers' convention in New York City, Allen deplored " the new tradition of the closed mind" which threatens to harden the intellectual arteries of US magazines. "There are many topics on which it is hard today to get even a reasonable, fair-minded article," he complained. As an example he cited the story of the concentration of US industry:

"I feel it in my bones that most of the journalists who might be competent to deal with it would regard themselves as bound by conscience to make the picture either as black or as white as possible; either to show that those glorious creatures, our industrial leaders, are fashioning for us a system ever more perfect, or else that these horrid predators, the millionaires, are fastening upon us the chains of fascism."

Allen deplored the "illiberal definition of liberalism" under which "there is an inevitable war of ideas between the Right and the Left. . . . The 'liberal' journalist is the fellow who chooses the army of the Left. . . . This 'liberal' is not interested in the interplay of ideas. . . . All who side with him are great and good, and all who oppose him are scoundrels."

Honeymoon Over

Foreign Affairs

The highly advertised "bipartisan" label on US foreign policy is beginning to look somewhat shopworn. The Truman Administration watches nervously as the Republican majority in Congress rips away at major tenets of US diplomacy abroad.

The GOP tide in Congress is turning against Assistant Secretary of State Spruille Braden's determination that Argentina keep her pledges to deport Nazi agents before receiving US favors. The reciprocal-trade program, authored 12 years ago by Cordell Hull, is also in real danger of being torn to shreds.

How effectively the Administration fights back—or how quickly it gives up—greatly depends on incoming Secretary of State George C. Marshall. Equally crucial is the attitude of Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg (Mich.), one of the architects of the so-called "bipartisan" policy and chairman of the powerful Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

Vandenberg speeches give scant comfort to either Braden or believers in reciprocal trade. He appears ready to forget about the German agents in Argentina and to proceed with a Pan-American defense treaty in which the Peron government would participate. While advocating continuation of the reciprocal-trade program "in one form or another," Vandenberg has hinted that the present multilateral approach may have to be scrapped. That would mean postponement or cancellation of the April conference in Geneva (instigated by the US) at which 18 nations were to make a collective assault on tariffs and other trade barriers to expand world prosperity and employment. Teaming up with Senator Eugene D. Millikin (R, Colo.), Vandenberg has warned the Administration to "go easy" with the reciprocal-trade program or have Congress cut it down to size.

The GOP campaign against the trade program is already in high gear. Representative Thomas A. Jenkins (Ohio) introduced a bill to postpone any more tariff cuts until Congress could make "a scientific study" of the Trade Agreements Act. Representative Fred L. Crawford (Mich.), exclaimed that tariff reductions would permit imports from Russia to wreck the US peppermint-oil industry. Representative Frank A. Barrett (Wyo.) called further reductions a "knockout blow" to US wool growers. So it goes.

The State Department is putting up a brave front. Undersecretary Will Clayton denies that the trade program is a "lame-duck" policy. Clayton points out that 15 Republican Senators supported renewal of the program in 1945, and that it has been endorsed by the last three GOP presidential candidates—Landon, Willkie and Dewey. Privately, State officials are exploring the possibilities of a compromise which would keep the trade program as nearly intact as possible while retaining the maximum Republican congressional support—particularly the all-important support of Vandenberg.

On Braden's Argentine policy such support is doubtful. In addition to Braden's enemies in Congress, the Army and industry, he is afflicted with opposition in his own diplomatic stable. Among the dissenters are George S. Messersmith, US Ambassador to Argentina, and William D. Pawley, US Ambassador to Brazil. Braden has confided to friends that he is tired of strife and hopes Marshall will make an early decision on Argentine policy, no matter which way it goes.

Over the Hump

Prices

Inflationary fever, which had gripped the US since price controls were ended last summer, dropped a faint degree. Henry Ford II cut the prices of his cars $15 to $50. Retail butter slumped below the former OPA ceiling of 67 cents a pound. Eggs went down six to 10 cents a dozen. Chickens dropped in price, and so did wheat, corn, cotton and hides. The extravagant cost of luxury goods, which had sagged earlier, showed no sign of reviving. No less an authority than Marriner S. Eccles, chairman of the board of governors of the Federal Reserve, decided that "inflation largely has run its course," and eased margin requirements for trading in stocks by 25 percent.

Consumers were not yet jumping with frisky joy. A Ford model which sold for $771 in 1939 still cost about $1,300. The fall in butter and egg prices was partly seasonal. Lower wheat, corn and cotton remained to be reflected in cheaper bread, corn meal and white shirts. Women's alligator pumps that had sold for a thumping $69 could be bought for a bargain $49. But sensibly priced shoes had gone down little. Many wholesale prices were still rising. Any way you looked at it, it cost a lot to live.

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Merchants reported increasing consumer resistance. Even at 65 cents a pound housewives were not snapping up butter. The canny housewife, according to some news reports, was waiting to see if it would go still lower. While some housewives were doubtless such shrewd judges of the market, thousands of others had reached the limit of their purchasing power. Eccles put it this way: "As a result of higher prices and of the narrowing margin between individual incomes and expenditures the intensity of demand had abated considerably."

Ford described his price as a "shock treatment" to "halt the insane spiral of mounting costs and rising prices." Significant of the frame of mind of professional traders were the market quotations on cotton and wheat. Cotton for delivery in March sold for 31 cents a pound; for delivery next October the price was 26 cents. Wheat for January delivery in Chicago was $2.17 a bushel; for delivery next July the price was $1.77. The smart money was betting on a slump.

President Auriol

Paris

SOCIALIST Vincent Auriol moved his luggage last week from the Palais Bourbon to the Palais Élysée for a seven-year stay. In a quick shift of jobs the erstwhile chairman of France's National Assembly thus capped his election as first President of the Fourth French Republic, bravely born of the postwar world.

Auriol's initial act was to pick another Socialist for the ticklish job of forming a cabinet acceptable to France's volatile party groupings. Premier Paul Ramadier, 62, was little known, even in France. He had held the posts of Minister of Justice in the previous cabinet and Food Minister in de Gaulle's provisional regime.

For his new task Ramadier enjoyed the blessing of the aged Léon Blum's interim Socialist cabinet, which, during its short life, had exhibited remarkable vigor (1) through price regulations aimed at the mounting threat of inflation and (2) by smoothing the groundwork for an Anglo-French economic

Talmadge's Triumph Over Georgia

THE wind blew a moan through John Brown's bones and a sound of dismay lingered over Georgia. The white-supremacy laws were already written and ready to pass. The "wool-hat" boys from the piney woods (see page 12) had taken the state—down to the keyhole on the door of the Governor's office. On their shoulders last week young Herman Talmadge was hoisted into Georgia's executive mansion.

In a wild and turbulent scene the Georgia legislature, rigged by cracker politician Roy Harris, took unto itself the privilege of naming a Governor. The death of Gene Talmadge had left the legal succession confused. But the Talmadge boys couldn't wait for the courts. On the strength of 675 write-in election votes for Herman and a vague paragraph of the state constitution, they snatched the office for the living ghost of "pore ole Gene." Through the metallic clink of spittoons sounded the rasping voice of a tobacco-stained Georgia lawmaker, "Let's name Hummun and go home." Herman was named, 161 to 87.

Most folks had expected that Lieutenant Governor Melvin E. Thompson would step into the capable shoes of Ellis Arnall, whose term as Governor was running out. But the Talmadge mob surged too swiftly. With Klan cards showing and fists swinging, they smashed down the door of Arnall's office and declared themselves ready to take over. Arnall refused to budge for the "pretender," but during the night the invaders switched the locks and state troopers blocked Arnall's path next morning. Herman Talmadge reigned as *de-facto* Governor.

Arnall sat at a desk in the capitol rotunda and denounced the usurpers for their strong-arm tactics: "I have been locked out of my executive office by storm troopers," he charged. When a 237-pound Talmadge lieutenant grabbed away even that desk, Arnall retired in favor of "Acting Governor" M. E. Thompson. The latter rallied his own mixed band of political followers and ordered the attorney general to freeze the funds of all state agencies. "I will assert in every way I know how that I am Governor of Georgia," Thompson promised. Some time after February 19, the state supreme court would decide the law of Georgia's lawless upheaval.

Meanwhile Georgia's lily-white klaverns wildly rejoiced over the free hand promised them by the youthful inheritor of the Talmadge dynasty. The legislature swiftly prepared to resurrect the white-primary law. Herman was set to make good on his campaign pledge to get rid of a state suit to revoke the Klan's corporate charter. In a radio speech to the beleaguered people of Georgia, ex-Governor Arnall urged them not to give way to the preachers of malice and hatred:

"If this military coup d'état is successful, if this subservient legislature succeeds in taking away your rights, as it is undertaking to do, I fear for your rights in the future. . . . If Herman Talmadge, the pretender, is allowed to occupy the governorship, it will be four years before you will have the right to say who will guide the destinies of this state. I have confidence in the courts; I believe the courts will protect the people. . . . Talmadge says that he plans to run the state government by any source at his command. . . . We must not tolerate such dictatorship in Georgia."

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alliance. Blum, enfeebled at 74 by Vichy and German imprisonment, declined reappointment. But his brief term as Premier had sustained the combination of Communists, Socialists and minor parties of the Left which voted Auriol into the presidency on the first ballot.

Blum flew back from London just in time to take part in the inaugural ceremony for Auriol, his Minister of Finance during Popular Front days. The terms of the Anglo-French rapprochement which Blum carried back with him were still more symbolic than settled. Closer economic ties with Britain and a softer attitude toward Germany's reconstruction have been urged as answers to France's 1946 trade deficit of $1.2 billion. As long as the deficit lasts, the Republic is not likely to regain her former place among the great nations of the world.

Big Haul

Foreign Loans

OFFICIALS of the US Export-Import Bank hoarded their last $320 million and wondered what loan-hungry country the State Department would go to bat for next. Austria and Finland were likely candidates and there was always the chance that Secretary of State Marshall would reverse his predecessor and approve the $50 million which Czechoslovakia almost received last summer.

That would be all right with the Export-Import Bank, which regards the Czechs as the best financial risk in Europe. Bank officials were still angry over the way James F. Byrnes, piqued by anti-US statements of Czech officials and newspapers, had ordered them to cancel the $50 million credit.

Resentment toward State Department interference accounted in part for the reluctance of William McChesney Martin, Export-Import Bank chairman, to approve last week of a $100 million credit for Italy. Byrnes had been eager for the granting of this loan, without too many strings attached, to bolster the wavering government of Premier Alcide de Gasperi.

Martin finally agreed to set aside $100 million for Italy during 1947, but specified strict conditions for each withdrawal of funds to ensure repayment. He left the door open to cancellation of the loan should conditions in Italy become unstable. Thus, Italy's credit was left in the same category as the $500 million which the bank earmarked for China last year. And if Italian officials had any idea that Martin's strings were not genuine, they could recall that strife-torn China to date had never been permitted to draw a single cent of the allocated $500 million.

Meanwhile, the bank was making it plain to all applicants that the days of such loans as the $650 million for France and China's prospective $500 million were over; that the bank was reverting speedily to its prewar status, and that credits henceforth would be modest ones for specific projects, where recipients were good risks and where funds would be used to buy US goods.

Applicants for large loans were referred to the International Bank, which had yet to loan a dollar to anyone.

The Washington visit of Italy's de Gasperi produced all he could have expected. In addition to the earmarked $100 million, he took away:

- Assurances of direct US relief, totaling probably $150 million, if Congress approves President Truman's request for an international-aid appropriation.
- A US Treasury check for $50 million to help retire "occupation" money used by American troops in Italy.
- A US promise to consider shortly the release of $60 million in Italian assets "frozen" in this country during the war.
- Diversion in mid-Atlantic of six US ships with 50,000 tons of grain to Italy to stave off famine. (They had set out for Germany.)
- An increase in the US grain allotments for February of 25,000 tons over the January allocation.
- Virtual agreement for the purchase by Italy, on easy terms, of 50 US Liberty ships.
- An option on 100,000 tons of Maine potatoes.
- Loan of two former Italian ships to repatriate Italian war prisoners.

Premier de Gasperi had little time to exult over these accomplishments. Upon his return to Italy, he faced an immediate cabinet crisis, precipitated by a split in the Socialist Party over the question of collaborating with the Italian Communists. US aid might be the determining factor in whether or not he could hold together his hybrid government.

Sign of the Times

New York City

ON THE 115th birthday of Horatio Alger Jr., the Children's Aid Society of New York polled the members of seven boys' and girls' clubs. Ninety-two percent of the children had never even heard of the rags-to-riches hero. Only 60 percent ever read books of any kind. Of this group, most listed comic books as their favorites!

Painful Picture

London

LONDON'S great transport strike finally ended in victory for the truck drivers. The rank-and-file members of Ernest Bevin's old union held out against threats and blandishments for more than a week and won not only the practical support of thousands of dockers, porters and stevedores but also the widespread sympathy of the working-class public whose meager rations were jeopardized by the stoppage.

The outcome reflected little credit on obstinate employers (the haulage industry is scheduled for nationalization) or an embarrassed Labor Government. Prime Minister Clement Attlee hemmed and hawed before calling in troops to deliver food. The picture of labor's parliamentary leader ordering out the Buckingham Palace Guard to break a strike was a painful one to even the government's warmest supporters.

Ponderous negotiation machinery had stalled for nine months the transport workers' modest demands for an eight hour day and a 44-hour week with overtime. The walkout of rank-and-file drivers took place in spite of the frown of the top-heavy leadership in the cumbersome Transport and General Workers' Union. It was these same demands that were substantially met in the eventual settlement that sent 14,000 drivers and 54,000 sympathy strikers back to their jobs.

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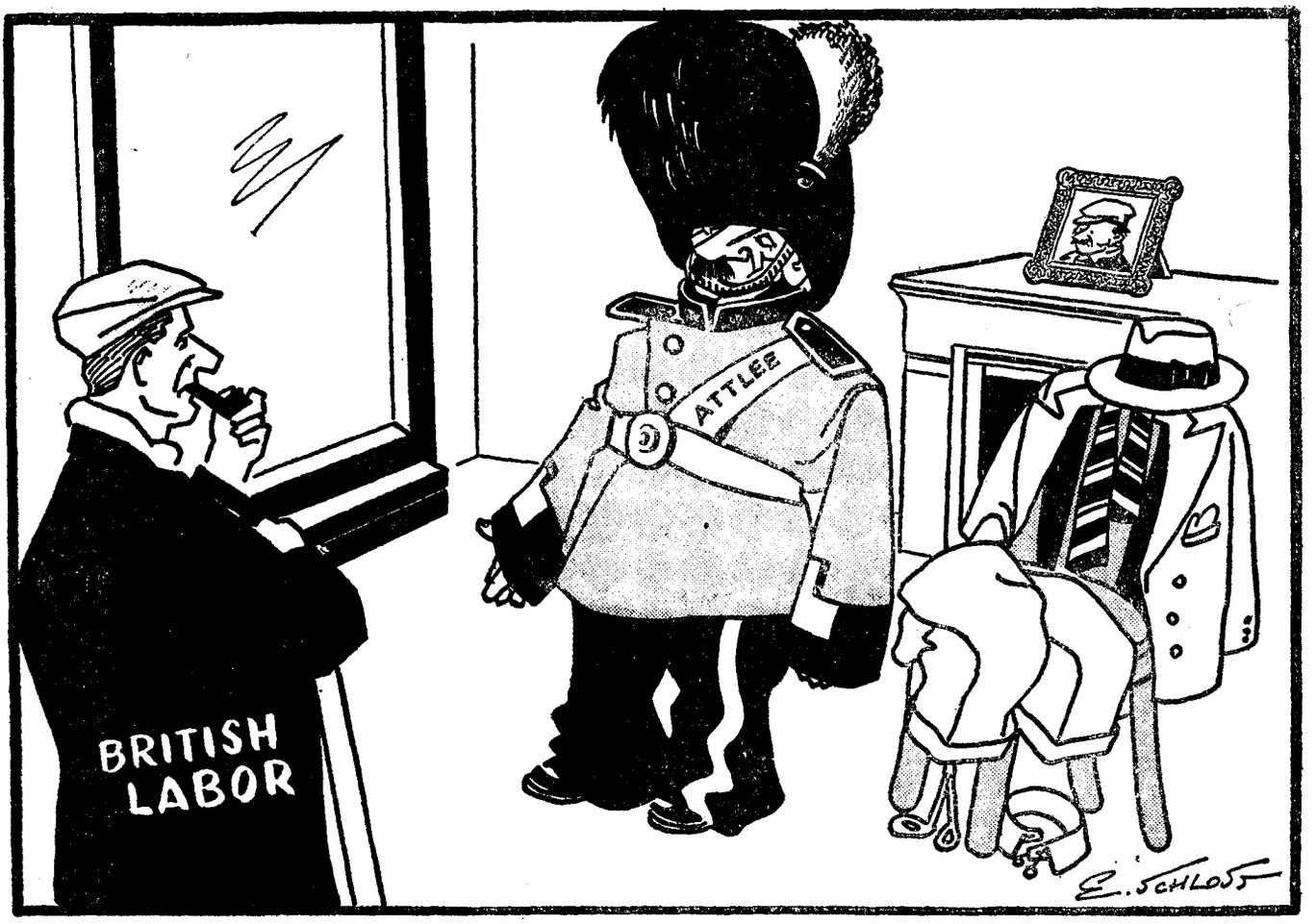

"IT DOESN'T BECOME YOU, CLEM."

The howls that went up from the Tory press at the effrontery of the truck drivers in defying a government which they had elected have now been replaced by sanctimonious pleas not to do it again. It remains to be seen what effect the strikers' victory will have on pending wage-and-hour demands in other industries. Nothing emerges more clearly from the crisis than the fact that the Labor Government's lack of a wages-and-hours policy may prove to be its Achilles' heel.

"Old Neighbors"

Louisiana

WHEN the bad news reached the jail cell of Willie Francis, the 18-year-old Negro shrugged his skinny shoulders. "Death and me is old neighbors," sighed the condemned youth.

Willie and Death have been on close terms now for nearly three years. Willie was a kid of 15 when police arrested him for the holdup slaying of a St. Martinville druggist. Louisiana justice was swift. Within eight days of his indictment, the youngster was tried, convicted and sentenced to die. Dying took longer. Not until last May was Willie hooded and strapped to the electric chair.

Just before the switch was thrown, Willie seemed to taste a "mouthful of cold peanut butter" and saw "little blue and pink and green speckles, the kind that shines in a rooster's tail. . . . It was like the white folks watching was in a big swing, and they'd swing away and back and then right up close." But Death was tardy. A loose wire burned out in the chair and the deadening shock never struck. "I thought it would hurt a little, but I didn't think it would be so little," commented Willie.

Back in his cell, Willie dozed, ate and read the Bible during the long months while his lawyers carried an appeal to the US Supreme Court. The lawyers argued that sending Willie to the chair again would be cruel and unusual punishment. Last week, in a five-to-four decision, the Supreme Court ruled otherwise. Unless Louisiana's Governor Jim Davis granted clemency, Death would call once more on Willie Francis.

The boy took it calmly. "I always sort of wondered if I was a brave man. Now I guess maybe I'm gonna find out," he said. He declined the offer of a totally disabled Army officer who volunteered to take Willie's place in the chair next time. "If anybody's gonna sit," Willie flatly stated, "I'll sit."

Company Town

New Jersey

ROEBLING used to be a company town. Its 754 monotonous dwellings, general store, movie theatre and dozen other soot-blackened buildings were owned lock, stock and barrel by John A. Roebling's Sons, manufacturers of wire in a sprawling mill ten miles

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outside the city of Trenton. For 40 years Roebling mill hands faithfully turned back to their employers the rent money for the rows of almost identical houses which stand in formation along the company-owned streets of their company-owned community.

After nearly half a century, the Roebling company grew impatient with its landlord role. The proposition began losing money and the OPA rejected a request to increase the rents. Roebling employees were notified that they had until February 1 to buy their homes, or the houses would be sold out from under them. The company named its own "bargain prices." A typical bargain —$5,200 for an old-fashioned bungalow with no closets. Families who could not afford to buy prepared to double up, or move away, not quite sure where.

Chain-Letter Campaign

Minnesota

HAROLD E. STASSEN'S bid as the "grass-roots" candidate for the 1948 Republican presidential nomination has taken a folksy turn in the home state of Minnesota's former Governor. "Neighbors for Stassen" clubs are beginning to fan out from Minneapolis via the chain-letter system, a method almost as strange to professional politicians as Stassen's frank announcement that he wants to be President.

"Neighbors for Stassen" are bent on building up a nationwide groundswell of Stassen sentiment in hopes of overwhelming the GOP Old Guard by convention time next year. The technique is primitively simple. Stassenites hear of a man with a flicker of interest in their candidate. They send their quarry a friendly letter, asking his support and enclosing a kit of persuasive literature. The recipient is urged to write ten or a dozen friends in turn. Eventually, "Neighbors for Stassen" expect to plant such roots in every state.

The man behind the project is Daniel C. Gainey, a wealthy industrialist. Mrs. Richard Pillsbury Gale, wife of a former Representative, has charge of the women's division. Young Mark Forgette, former aide to General Mark W. Clark, has sparked the organization with some of the crusading enthusiasm typical of the followers of the late Wendell Willkie.

The boom, however, may yet be busted by Senator Joseph H. Ball (R, Minn.), whom Stassen appointed in 1940. Ball's recent proposals to revive the Wagner Act and weaken the power of unions have alienated the Minnesota labor support once commanded by his friend and benefactor. Stassen last week hastily went on record with the opinion that some of Ball's measures would "go too far."

Spitsbergen Base

Foreign Affairs

THE US State Department was firmly opposed to the establishment of a Soviet military base on the Norwegian-owned Spitsbergen Islands. So was Britain's Foreign Office. That settled the matter for the time being. Norway had said she would entertain the suggestion only if the US, Britain and other interested nations approved.

Russia had broadly hinted an interest in the Arctic base for more than two years. One of these hints coincided with the unsuccessful US negotiations for permanent bases on Iceland, considerably closer to Moscow than Spitsbergen is to the US Eastern seaboard. The first news that Russia had renewed her request broke, not from Moscow or Oslo, but in London. A press dispatch said the information originated with a British Foreign Office official.

Tass, the Soviet news agency, later declared that the 1920 treaty which gave Norway sovereignty over Spitsbergen could not "remain valid." Tass offered two reasons: (1) The pact had been signed without Russian participation; (2) among the signatories were Italy and Japan, two wartime allies of Nazi Germany.

The US and Britain were also signatories of the 1920 treaty. Both left no doubt of their conviction that before any change in Spitsbergen's status could occur, all signatories except Italy and Japan would have to be consulted. But the US State Department cautiously explained that it had not been notified that Russia was officially denouncing the 1920 treaty. Norway was keeping the US informed of the negotiations, but had not yet asked for any official American opinion on the matter. The State Department said it would not make its attitude public until such a request was received.

Portal-Pay Bills

Labor

INDUSTRY spokesmen, testifying on the Wiley and Capehart portal-pay bills, predicted ruin and disaster if Congress did not relieve them of back-pay claims. There seemed little reason to doubt, from the sympathies revealed by Senator Donnell (R, Mo.) and his judiciary subcommittee colleagues, that the substance of the bills would be reported favorably.

Despite the short notice before the committee hearings opened, lawyers for both business groups and the CIO turned up with elaborate briefs. Industry emphasized pretty strongly that it would like sweeping changes in the Fair Labor Standards Act rather than changes dealing only with the portal-pay issue. Raymond S. Smethurst, general counsel of the NAM, asked that employers' liability be limited to one year and that the burden of proof in making portal-to-portal claims be completely put upon employees. These proposals, he thought, should apply to suits now pending as well as those filed in the future.

The CIO put Lee Pressman, its general counsel, on the stand in rebuttal, and also produced a dozen rank-and-file union members to talk about "walking time" and working conditions. Pressman thought it of "profound importance" that the first hearings held by a committee of the 80th Congress should propose a "retroactive elimination of workers' rights."

Committee members didn't ask the rank-and-file spokesmen many questions about the details of their work. The Senators apparently were not prepared to deny that walking time or preparatory work might be onerous, unavoidable and sometimes as hazardous as "productive" work. But they seemed more fascinated by the question of how union members were advised to file the suits, how attorneys were authorized and what the attorneys' fees would be than with the economics of portal-to-portal wages.

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Washington Wire

The GOP Slows Down

THE first rounds of a big prize fight are apt to be cautious, as the heavyweights try each other out. You now see that situation here between Truman and Congress. Both are wary. Truman's good-humored attitude as he offers coöperation, meanwhile quietly emphasizing his own position, has brought popular support. Truman's post-election status is improving—he "won" the coal strike; picked George Marshall; invited GOP leaders to the White House and simultaneously staked out a claim on the popular issue of lower prices in his economic report. Yes, Truman's doing all right. He has the GOP just the least mite worried. Liberal Republican Wayne Morse warns GOP standpatters they might yet lose in 1948. That is salutary, though probably incorrect. It is both amusing and amazing to see how quickly the bumptious Republicans have slowed down four weeks after taking power.

The GOP is experiencing a cooling-off period on proposed punitive labor legislation. Both Stassen and Taft have, in effect, repudiated bouncing young senior Senator Ball from Minnesota. The GOP doesn't want to be left holding the bag.

The same is true for taxes. The GOP campaigned on a 20-percent-tax-cut plank. The Republican National Committee, on October 20, issued a statement from Representative Reed of New York, chairman of the Party's House Tax Study Committee, signed by "27 Republican members of the House" including "all Republican members of the Ways and Means Committee." They promised, if elected, to "reduce personal income taxes 20 percent and make downward adjustments in federal excise taxes."

That was about as specific a pledge as any in the campaign. But now careful GOP leaders, who are watching Truman, have stepped in. The proposed excise-tax cut is out. And the fond political promise of a 20-percent cut in income taxes is fading fast. After all, why worry about campaign pledges? The GOP won, didn't it?

TRUMAN and Congress are antagonists, whether they would be or not by nature of two-party politics and our governmental division of powers. But the break can be delayed. The public wants coöperation. And Truman has offered coöperation. The Republicans are gingerly taking the right hand of fellowship, meanwhile wisely scrutinizing the issues on which they will ultimately agree to disagree.

Just appearing is the first hint of the schismatic liberal group that almost automatically causes pain to any dominant Old Guard majority—Aiken, Flanders, Ives, Langer, Morse and Tobey. The potential liberals are descendants of the men George Moses once termed "sons of the wild jackass." After 1948 there might be more of them.

Senate Democrats are just beginning to see the fun of opposition. They are well led, nimble-witted. They are actually just about as conservative as the Republicans. It is a war of maneuver, not ideologies.

How about Truman in all this? His mild, left-of-center coöperative policy makes good sense and good strategy, if he can stick to it, but Truman is an uncertainty. It's hard to forget how he capitulated on the hold-the-line price fight; on housing; how, in the rail strike, he proposed drafting workers. Truman's job is now a lot easier, for responsibility has passed to Congress. His course will probably depend somewhat on his advisers.

Lew Schwellenbach had much to do with bringing Truman round to the mild labor proposals in his annual message. Chances seem pretty good that Truman will stick to them. The other big issue, now looming, is the tariff. This might well be one on which the White House and the GOP split. Here Truman has as adviser one of the strongest men in government, multimillionaire, Southern cotton-exporter Will Clayton. Clayton is about as radical in most things as J. Pierpont Morgan the elder. But on international trade he fits right into the Cordell Hull tradition. The Marshall-Acheson-Clayton team may go far. Here again the victorious Republicans must think very carefully, very calmly, before bucking it.

NOTES. – There's real doubt whether the budget will be balanced this year after all; business recession would cut receipts and require farm subsidies, and at the same time the GOP will try to make some tax cuts; veterans are getting one-fifth of all the proposed Truman budget, but the new congressional veterans' group, numbering one-third of the membership, may ask for more; the pension list of the War of 1812 has just closed. . . . The Federal Reserve Board is likely to cut the margin for stock-exchange operations to 50 percent, having begun with a cut to 75 percent. . . . Army-Navy "merger" is really a reintegration; a new official layer has been imposed on former layers. . . . The best advertised recession in history is slow in showing up, but peak prices now seem definitely past. . . . Federal school aid is likely to founder again on whether to include parochial schools. The Murray-Pepper-Morse bill would; the Taft-Hill-Thomas bill wouldn't. . . . Strikes have dropped to a near all-time low as Congress cogitates labor legislation. . . . A new move is in the works to bring British government and Zionists together on the Palestine issue. . . . Volume one of Cordell Hull's memoirs is about finished; volume two is under way. . . . The government must either impose farm-production controls or face huge losses in its price-support program; the GOP balks at such controls after so many years of denouncing them.

Washington T. R. B.

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How It Happened Down in Georgia

by Ralph McGill

Out of bitterness, ignorance and poverty the "wool-hatters" closed on Atlanta to recast a state in their own image

ATLANTA—it was well before dawn on the morning of Tuesday, January 14, when the first old car rattled up and parked on a side street near the state capitol.

Its occupants climbed out, stiff from a four-hour ride. They joined a shadowy group waiting near the steps. By then, other lights from arriving cars began to pierce the foggy morning mists of the four converging streets.

Herman had sent for them. They liked Herman all right. He was a good boy. But they had come because of the thin-faced man with the unruly lock of hair whom they had seen lying in state beneath the rotunda of the capitol on December 22 and had buried on a hilltop near his farm in McRae, Georgia, the following day. Ten thousand of them had trudged past his coffin where he lay in the neat blue suit that was to have been his inaugural garment for a fourth term as Governor of Georgia. Hundreds of them had gone on to the funeral the next day. Curious crowds had watched that cortege pass, with the snarling, shrilling sirens of the highway patrol escort providing a threnody that rose and fell among the hills and valleys along the way.

It was for him they had come, for old Gene, even though the word had come from Herman. Herman Talmadge was all right. He showed all the signs of growing up to be a fine man like his papa, they said, talking there in the morning. But it was for Eugene Talmadge, his thin lips set in cold smile down beneath the soil at McRae, that they had left their beds and walked or driven, many of them for great distances, to Atlanta to see that Herman didn't get mistreated.

The legislature was going to elect Herman Governor in his papa's place. And that was, they argued, right and proper. They had voted for old Gene, but since the Lord, in His infinite wisdom, had called him to glory, Herman would do.

They didn't quite understand it. There was a legal argument. That was for the lawyers, they reckoned. They stood around talking as a cold, damp, gray broke over the square, beading the iron face of Tom Watson's statue with dew. The drops clung as the sweat once did when he had that right arm flung up and the words rushing through the frothy lips like a torrent over rocks. But, they allowed, there were lawyers on their side to match anything the other side had. Except, of course, the other side had the sweet-talking, Philadelphia-lawyer type who could rob you blind and yet give you a sugar tit to make you satisfied until it was too late to be otherwise.

They came for the next two hours. They walked from the slum sections and the boarding-house areas in the city. They came from farm and town. They were to fill the galleries as soon as the capitol opened. They were to stand about the corridors when there were no more seats, spitting, talking, arguing, ready to fight if Herman sent word he was being robbed.

They were to stay there for almost 24 hours, until in the late watches of the next morning a weary, harassed, confused legislature, sitting in joint session, had elected Herman Talmadge—the only son of the late Eugene Talmadge—Governor of Georgia in a scene which was a mixture of legal red tape and Graustarkian drama, a coup d'état out of a fiction-writer's plot.

Old Gene

OLD GENE had won in the first primary election in which Negroes had voted in Georgia, having boldly announced at the outset that he did not want, and would not have, a Negro vote. He counted on the unit system to nominate him and he beamed his campaign to the rural counties, which was his custom. He used to boast he never wanted to carry a county with a streetcar in it. But this time he beamed it even more heavily and he set out to pick up what other votes he could from those who feared that white supremacy was in the balance.

He knew he would get two-thirds of the industrialists. He knew that with the CIO against him, the older and more politically potent AFL group would help. He knew the Negro issue would fetch the textile workers to him, even though they had hated him after he broke their AFL-supported strike in 1936.

He was an Ishmael, with his hand against that of every man who disagreed with him. But most of all he counted on the rural counties. The backbone of his strength was by no means all wool-hat boys. There were plenty of small-town bankers, warehouse keepers and owners and big farmers who had always been with him. And there were others

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Ralph McGill, a Southerner born and bred, has been the editor of the Atlanta Constitution *since 1942. His writing has won him national recognition as one of the most distinguished liberal voices in the South. During the war, he was chairman of the Selective Service Board in Atlanta till 1944, when he went overseas as a member of the Freedom of the Press mission deputized by the ANPA to make a world survey of press conditions.*

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who came with him for the first time because they had Negro majorities in their counties. And they saw these Negroes organized and instructed and they knew it would be a bloc vote, just as old Gene was telling them on the radio. No amount of newspaper argument that supremacy, white or otherwise, could be maintained only on a basis of justice and fairness was able to stand against what they could see.

But it was the wool-hat boys who were his darlings and his lambs. They would follow him to hell, or march off a towering cliff if he ordered it, even as legend had it the dark soldiers of Christophe did in far-away Haiti The phrase "wool-hat" comes from the pioneer days when a man could take a square of felt, soak it well and then pull and shape it about his head. Dried in the sun and trimmed with the sheep shears, it became a hat.

Georgia's underprivileged

THE wool-hat boys are a part not merely of Georgia politics, but of every Southern state's politics. There is something of China and her problem about the deep, cotton South. Feudalism is not quite gone from wide reaches of it. Nor was it ever the dreamy idyl of enchanting acres and perpetual afternoon, of magnolias and mint juleps stirred with a silver spoon.

The industrial revolution has come but slowly, being greatly resisted in some regions and towns. Since 1865 there have always been hunger and not enough jobs. There has always been too much pressure on the land. A feudal slavery was exchanged for a feudal cropper and tenant system. For generations the crowded hillsides have been giving up their young men and women, who come into the mills suspicious and afraid, knowing there are more young men and women from the other fields waiting to take the jobs.

Cotton has been in retreat, and the pace is stepping up. Even with the price of cotton what it is, hardly a small or medium-sized farm is having anything new put on it that isn't paid for by income derived elsewhere. There has been a dramatic turn to livestock, but it has been made by men who earn the money somewhere else.

". . . OLD GENE—HE SAW IT PLAIN."

What the good governors and the reformers and the better element, so-called, always forgot was that nothing very much ever reached down to the wool-hat boy, whether he moved to town or stayed in the country.

The new courthouses, the new main highways, the new hospitals for the insane, the new jails, didn't patch his pants or teach him how to market his small crop. Those improvements didn't make his slab-sided school any better and didn't feed his kids any more. And they didn't build a hospital or put a doctor within his reach.

And when Ellis Arnall came to the capitol and made one of the finest governors Georgia ever had, even he didn't reach them.

He reformed the prison system and eliminated the chain gang. He took educational boards out of politics by making them constitutional. He eliminated the pardon racket with a constitutional pardon and parole board. He brought dignity to the office of Governor and he astounded the citizens by being very good indeed on the best radio forums.

But the wool-hat boy rarely listened to the radio forums. School reforms at the university didn't feed his hogs, and the feed had gone higher than a cat's back during the war. The innovations didn't provide any help, and the Negroes had all gone off to the war camps and not worth a damn when they came back, wanting wages on the farm like those they got in town. If his boy got into trouble and went to jail, it was still jail and reform didn't make it home. Also, it was a good deal harder to spring him. The constitutional board was too tough.

The reforms didn't reach down. Not many persons saw that they didn't, but old Gene did—he saw it plain.

"Democracy and good government"

"THEY talk about the state," he would tell them. "You are the state as much as the sweet-talking big shots in the town, as much as the newspaper columnists talking about democracy and good government. You can't feed your kids democracy and you can't buy pig and chicken feed with it. The newspapers talk like you can put all that fine talk in your kid's lunch box and let him get fat on it. They ain't done nothing for you."

And the sad fact was that no one had.

To make matters worse, the foreign devils were taking a hand. And what business was it of theirs anyhow? One of the worst was Henry Wallace, him that killed all the pigs and plowed them under. Imagine that now, and him talking about being a farmer. Not only that,

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but Henry Wallace and the Yankee magazines are all sold out to the Communists and the Pinks. They are down here telling us what to do and making fun of us for being ignorant as dirt. Why don't they let us alone and clean up the gang killings and the stealing and the poverty in their own backyards? And the same for the newspapermen who try to get compliments from the big-city writers by fouling their own nest.

So, it went on and when the votes were counted Eugene Talmadge had won a great majority of the white votes. While he had got only a few hundred votes from the Negroes who were not fooled by Communist money and who knew their place, and while his total vote was short of his opponent's, he had more than enough county-unit ballots to give him the governorship.

Then on October 19, on vacation at Jacksonville, Florida, a vein hemorrhaged in old Gene's esophagus. Five weeks later, in Atlanta, he was well enough to go home with the knowledge that if he would be quiet and keep a Spartan regime, he would be cured a good while. But there was too much Ishmael in him, or, as he said it, "too much Talmadge," and he died early in the morning of December 21. His fourth-term inauguration was set for January 14.

The Talmadge-faction leaders long before had found that in Ellis Arnall's rewriting of the state constitution, much of the old text remained unchanged. One paragraph of the new part said that the Governor should serve four years and until his successor was elected and qualified. Another, lifted from the constitution of the old days when the legislature and not the people elected the Governor, said that, in the event no person had a majority of the whole vote, the legislature should elect from the two men having the highest number, which two persons should be in life and willing to serve. With Talmadge sick and, as they said, the first man who ever had everyone in the state praying—half that he'd get well and half that he'd die—they worked out a plan. Just as protection they would instruct some of their friends to have a few hundred write-in votes for Herman. And sure enough, as old Gene himself said a few days before the dark messenger came for him, "you boys planned better than you knew."

The young pretender

SON HERMAN could present to Georgians a good, moral sort of record. He was born at home at dawn on August 9, 1913.

He grew up on the farm through high-school years. He was a good boy, his mother says, and learned to shoot and ride and swim. He graduated from the University of Georgia where the Sigma Nu social fraternity received him. He was a better than average student and active in debating.

Following his graduation with a law degree from the university, the younger Talmadge was admitted to the Georgia Bar.

He was married in 1937 to Kathryne Williams, whom he met while both were attending the university. The ceremony was performed in "The Little Church Around the Corner" in New York City. Three years later, Kathryne Talmadge obtained a divorce from the then Governor's son on the grounds that he smoked smelly cigars in the house and went away to political meetings when she didn't want him to go. She also charged that her husband nagged her about money and was "cold and indifferent" and fond of sitting at home reading the newspaper. Young Talmadge filed an answer which was withdrawn and stricken from the record the day before the first decree was granted, February 5, 1941.

The following Christmas Eve, Talmadge, then an ensign in the Navy, and blonde Leila Elizabeth Shingler, University of Georgia sophomore, were married at the Executive Mansion. Young Talmadge was granted a three-day leave for the ceremony. The Talmadges have two children, Herman Eugene, four, and Robert Shingler, 10 months old.

Talmadge spent 32 months with the Navy in the Southwest Pacific and was discharged in November, 1945, with the rank of lieutenant commander. He served with the Sixth Naval District in Charleston and with the Third Naval District in New York until February, 1942, when he applied for sea duty and was ordered to the Midshipmen's School at Northwestern University. He participated in the invasion of Guadalcanal aboard the *USS Tryon* and served as flag secretary to the commandant of naval forces in New Zealand from June, 1943, to April, 1944. He was ordered to the *USS Dauphin* as executive officer, and participated in various engagements with the Japanese fleet and in the battle of Okinawa. He entered Tokyo Bay on V-J Day.

This was the heir apparent and the only one with a war record.

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Thus, it came about that Ellis Arnall's attorneys informed him he was legally called on to stay in office until a successor was elected and qualified, and the Talmadge majority set about having the legislature elect Herman.

Georgia was in a state of frustration. M. E. Thompson had been one of nine candidates for Lieutenant Governor, and had won. He claimed the intent of the new constitution was that he should serve. But the law said he should be sworn in after the Governor took office. It was, as they say, a mess.

And Georgians were still in a frustrated position.

Thompson, once a leading liberal, had pledged himself not merely to all the Talmadge program, but had publicly promised to fire anyone who had opposed him.

Back of Thompson was E. D. Rivers, a former Governor no more popular among most of the anti-Talmadge factions than Talmadge himself. Back of Thompson also, although he didn't know it, were the slot-machine and illegal-whiskey dealers of Georgia's coastal counties to match any of the same type in the shadows behind Talmadge.

The part played by Harris

BUT the key man was behind Talmadge. That was Roy Harris, veteran legislator but recently defeated in his own county. He had been the catalyst who had brought together the elements necessary to elect E. D. Rivers in 1937. It was he who handled the actual political maneuvers for Ellis Arnall and without whom Arnall could not have won.

Harris had broken with Arnall in the row over the second term—a row in which Arnall sought an amendment to permit him to run again. He had turned up behind Talmadge, and without him Talmadge would not have been able to win in the primary. Harris knows every nook and cranny of state politics and is the nearest thing to an Ed Crump Georgia has ever known. And while the wool-hats gathered in the streets, it was Harris who took over the fight for young Herman in the capitol and squeezed it through to violent, apparent success.

Action Now!

by Senator James E. Murray

A progressive Senator charts a course of social and economic legislation for the new Congress and the American public

I WOULD like to place before the US Congress and the American people a program of action designed to meet the economic and social problems which this country will face during the life of the 80th Congress.

This program has been evolved from many discussions and conferences which I have recently had with public-spirited citizens and fellow legislators. All of them—and the great majority of the American people—are desperately seeking to avoid the boom-bust-and-war cycle which followed World War I and which again seems imminent.

Before I present specific proposals, here are a number of fundamental principles which should guide our actions.

Our program must be aimed at dealing with the two greatest threats to our economy—the defective distribution of income and the dangerous concentration of private economic power.

We must remember that in the past we have failed to give adequate consideration to the needs of farmers, small businessmen, white-collar workers and professional people.

The drive for restrictive labor legislation must be met by a counter-offensive. Drastic controls over labor should be met with counter-proposals for similar controls over business. If there were to be compulsory arbitration of wages, for example, a similar policy must be applied to profits and prices. If the President is to be authorized to meet strike emergencies by taking temporary government possession of certain industries, the same policy should be employed toward industries threatening our economy through monopolistic practices or price policies that lead to unemployment and depression.

We need a progressive labor bill—to include a mediation board within the Labor Department and an extension service to help train business and labor in collective bargaining, a permanent management-labor conference, a system of industry and area labor-management panels, and more funds for mediation for the National Labor Relations Board and the Railway Mediation Board.

We need a joint commission, as I proposed last year and as President Truman has now recommended in his State-of-the-Union message, to study the problem of nationwide strikes in vital industries, the best methods and procedures for carrying out the collective-bargaining processes and the underlying causes of labor-management disputes.

A revised minimum-wage bill is needed—adjusted to meet the cost-of-living changes since introduction of the last bill—which would also set up machinery to provide minimum incomes for farmers.

We also need legislation providing tax adjustments for industries that institute annual-wage plans, and legislation protecting against discrimination in hiring and in wages.

With monopoly on the march, we need an over-all anti-monopoly bill which would include both a well directed and well financed drive against business restraints by the Anti-Trust Division and the FTC and a coördinated policy with respect to public control of recognized monopolies.

To provide capital for small business,

James Edward Murray, Democratic Senator from Montana, is serving his fourteenth year in the US Senate.

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we need legislation to establish an independent small-business agency which would include lending powers and other functions to preserve and extend independent small-business enterprises.

To prevent monopoly and help small business, as well as to promote government efficiency, we need a bill setting up a Civilian Procurement Director to coördinate the operations of the Army, Navy and other government agencies.

A return to the economics of scarcity and "ploughing under" can be averted only through legislation to improve production patterns by diversifying crops and building up family-type farms; to develop markets for farm products by government purchase of surpluses for use here and abroad; to continue the farm-support loan program on the basis of a revised parity formula that will guarantee minimum farm incomes; and to expand rural public works and conservation measures.

We also need a foreign-policy resolution committing the United States to the principles of a world food board, as approved by all our major farm organizations and the Department of Agriculture.

For an integrated program

WE NEED a comprehensive program to build up the industrial and agricultural potential in underdeveloped areas in order to combat the geographic centralization of industry.

We can no longer afford to have the Interior, Agriculture and War Departments fighting among themselves as to how river-development projects should be handled. The Council of Economic Advisers should be directed to draw up, in coöperation with other departments, a single and unified plan of operation under which the government can develop our river-valley resources.

We need legislation which rejects the old-fashioned principle of allocating public funds for improvements on the basis of population. In general, states should obtain federal aid and public services in proportion to their real economic needs.

We also need vigorous action in support of the general housing bill introduced in the last session.

The existing government programs on education, health and social security are hopelessly out of date.

We need comprehensive legislation for federal aid to education, along the lines of the Murray-Morse-Pepper bill, introduced at the end of the last session.

We need a revised health-insurance bill, which, while maintaining the principles of a central insurance fund, will provide for the utilization of voluntary health agencies and for decentralized administration.

We need a greatly liberalized and broadened program of old-age and survivors' insurance and unemployment compensation, financed in a manner that will not curtail mass purchasing power.

Finally, in recognition of the role in our economy played by health, education and security activities, the federal security agency should be converted into a department of social services.

A one-world foreign policy

WE SHALL head inevitably toward increased international tension and eventual war unless we develop a foreign policy based squarely upon the principle that America, Russia and England can and must live together as good neighbors, despite differences in their economic and political systems.

This policy should be fully developed in a broad Senate resolution designed to serve the same purpose in the coming years as was served in the past by the B2H2 and Fulbright resolutions.

This resolution should also set forth in clear-cut terms America's desire to join with other nations in planning the fruitful expansion of world trade, as an alternative to the economic conflict that would develop under a laissez-faire approach to world trade; to assist in the industrial development of backward areas of the world; to have the doors of Palestine opened immediately to admit Jewish refugees; to improve America's own immigration policy; to encourage a policy of either independence or international trusteeship for colonial countries; to provide for eventual international control of strategic bases outside any country's national boundaries; to develop a system to police atomic energy and to participate in a world program for the rapid reduction of armaments.

Furthermore, federal funds are needed for a broad cultural-relations program with other countries, in support of the objectives of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. This should be based upon the student-exchange program which has already worked so well on a small scale, but in this case we need an exchange not merely of students but of experts—of teachers, scientists, artists, industrial technicians, workers, agricultural economists and public officials. Special efforts should be exerted to have Russia participate in this program.

Needs at home

WE MUST meet the Republican soak-the-poor drive with a counter-offensive aimed at:

1. Achieving a tax structure unequivocally based on ability to pay.

2. Obtaining an immediate expansion of expenditures for veterans' housing, federal aid to education, public-health services, research and advance planning of public works.

3. A sensible reduction in the excessively high military budget, which still accounts for one-third of all federal expenditures.

Although a balanced budget is desirable, it would be *undesirable* at the expense of drastic cuts in government services and public works designed to raise the standard of living and provide the foundation for economic expansion.

In recent years, drafting of tax measures seems to have been the monopoly of the conservatives and the big-business tax lobbyists. In the coming session, we need to have introduced a comprehensive tax measure that will represent the interests of the majority of the people.

We shall be better able to promote democratic ideals beyond our borders when we have taken more vigorous steps to defend the rights of our own people.

We must guarantee free and representative elections. This means legislation which will eliminate the poll tax, provide registration facilities accessible to all citizens and protect the principle of majority vote in primary elections. It means a careful study, with an eye to reapportionment in 1950, of the extent to which congressional districts have been apportioned in such a way as to

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deny certain areas of various cities adequate representation in Congress. It means a full review of the laws on campaign contributions.

Anti-lynching legislation is long overdue, but it is also essential to have extensive legislation setting forth the full responsibilities of the federal government in the protection of civil liberties. The work of the special commission recently established by President Truman will unquestionably point the way.

On the congressional side, we must recognize that the recent Reorganization Act was only a first step in improving the operations of the Congress. In the interests of true democracy, action is particularly needed to limit Senate filibustering, to provide a published compilation of the precedents of the Senate, to curb the powers of the House Rules Committee and to provide for publication by the Library of Congress of the voting records of all members.

On the executive side, it is essential to stop the trend toward military control of government functions, to prevent government functions from being put in the hands of boards representing private groups and to coördinate the regulatory activities of the independent boards and commissions.

The fight is up to you

IN THIS program, we may expect the support of liberal Republicans. No one should forget that passage of the Full Employment Act of 1946, now recognized as one of the most important pieces of legislation in a century, might never have occurred during the last session if it had not been for the active support of liberal Republicans in both Houses.

Finally, it must be recognized that the ultimate responsibility for the battle on behalf of progressive legislation in the 80th Congress lies with an intelligent and vigilant electorate. Members of Congress can take leadership in formulating ideas, dramatizing the need for action, but their strength depends in the last analysis upon the support they are given by liberal businessmen, labor, farmers, church groups, women's organizations and other bodies which take their stand on behalf of social and economic progress.

It Pays to Work for Free

by Donald W. Craig

Philadelphia's GI cabbies are fighting a monopoly, don't charge customers and make lots of money

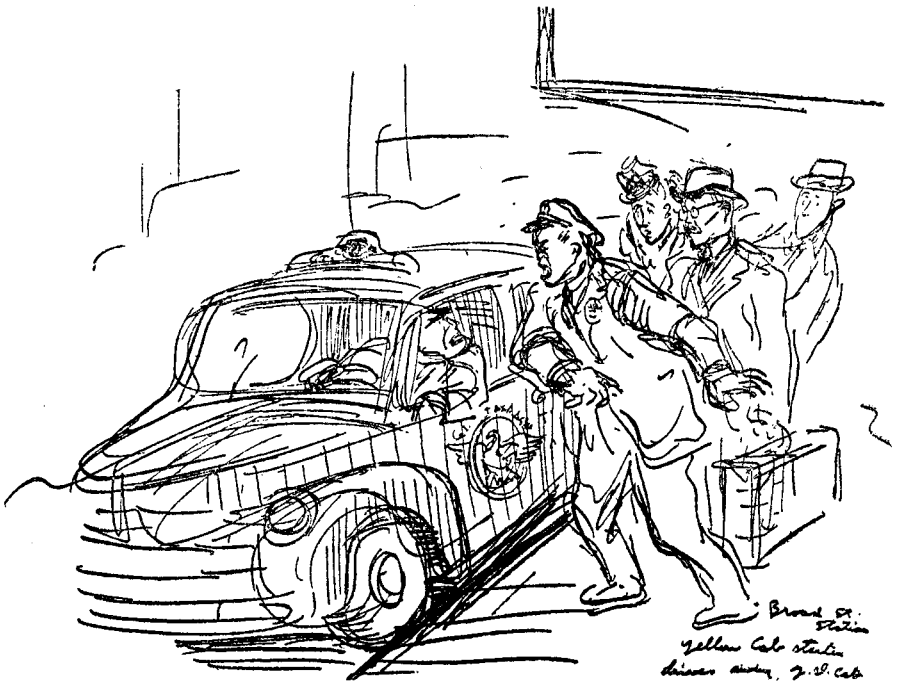
SIXTY-FIVE taxicabs in Philadelphia will take you anywhere you want to go—for nothing. Yet their owners and operators make from two to four times what other hack drivers earn there each week.

This paradox of logic and economics is the second round of a David and Goliath contest between a brisk band of World War II veterans and the local Yellow Cab Company, which has enjoyed a near monopoly for almost twenty years. Handling the towels in their respective corners are Philadelphia's citizenry and the Pennsylvania Public Utilities Commission.

The "free cabs" first poked their sleek maroon and gold noses out on the Quaker City streets November 16. The original fleet of 10 has swelled to 65, and more are coming as soon as they can be bought off Detroit's assembly lines.

Here's how they work. You climb into Nick Glorn's cab, say on City Hall Square, and ride to the Navy Yard, four miles away. When you climb out at the Yard gate, you ask Nick (who picked

Donald W. Craig is a reporter (now on strike) on the Philadelphia Record.



YELLOW CAB MONOPOLIZES THE STATIONS—AND THE PUBLIC

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up a Purple Heart overseas), "Well, what's it worth?"

Whereupon Nick smiles, and says, "There is no charge, sir. This ride would cost you 95 cents if you were in a regular cab. But we do accept donations."

And you, unless you are the one utterly mean man in a thousand, present him with anywhere from a dollar to a dollar and a half, and go your way feeling sanctified.

By such practices Nick cleared $1,250, after all expenses, during the first seven weeks of operation. His total investment was $2,156 (car, accessories, insurance and the Association reserve fund). Even with the post-holiday slump, he should get the whole sum back by spring.

Nick's estimate of his taxi-company competitors' rate is bona fide. Each driver carries a tariff card showing standard taxi-meter readings for distances up to ten miles. He notes the mileage when the ride begins and ends, makes a rapid calculation and comes up with a figure slightly less than the fare charged by other drivers. It is less because the speedometer doesn't function unless the cab is in motion. Regular meters go on ticking, at low speed, during traffic jams and behind red lights.

The GIs are operating in this odd but effective fashion because they cannot legally do otherwise. On December 4, 15 months after their petition for a franchise was filed, it was turned down by the Pennsylvania Public Utilities Commission. Without a franchise, a taxi driver cannot collect fares. But the law does not prevent him from giving rides and accepting gratuities. Nor does it prevent Philadelphia's taxi-hungry residents, out of patience with the Yellow Cab monopoly, from using GI cabs whenever they are available and consistently overpaying their drivers. The result is an amazing surplus. Time and income charts show that the GIs made more between November 16 and New Year's Day than if they had carried customers every minute of each day in Yellow cabs. Owner-operators garnered from $125 to more than $300 in various weeks of this period. The bantam weight is winning Round Two on points.

The battle for the franchise

ROUND ONE, a long, heart-breaking tug-of-war won by Yellow Cab, started August 20, 1945. On that day the vets first applied for their franchises to the Public Utilities Commission, whose admitted intent in refusing other Philadelphia franchises has been to keep the big Yellow Cab Company free from embarrassing competition.

GI STRATEGISTS COUNTERATTACK WITH SERVICE

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THE RUPTURED DUCK HAS AROUSED PHILADELPHIANS

Hearings on the GI applications began November 13, 1945, and dragged through the following March 15. Yellow Cab spokesmen opposing the petition assumed that the security and profits of their company were so sacred that any other matter should be subordinated to them.

The number of independent cab firms, said Clewell Sykes, president of the company, is a "fixed condition in the plans for service made by Yellow." Bernard Segal, the company attorney, testified that Yellow has "everything necessary to take care of all legitimate taxicab needs in Philadelphia except equipment, rolling stock and telephones." Yellow Cab advertisements asserted, "Philadelphia's taxicab service will be restored to normal only when we can get sufficient additional cabs and telephone equipment."

Too little and too late

ON THE other side an aroused public opinion (as aroused as public opinion ever gets in Philadelphia) spoke its mind. In three days 81 witnesses testified to the complete inadequacy of local service. A father declared that a Yellow dispatcher had declined to send a cab to take his dying son to the hospital. An 11-year-old girl said she could not get a cab to take her to another hospital to have her broken leg set. A discharged veteran described how he had waited three hours at North Philadelphia Station for a taxi. During the hearing, sympathetic vets paraded around City Hall, the papers editorialized in favor of the GIs, a cartoonist depicted a haggard William Penn thumbing a ride while a dilapidated and crowded taxi sped by unheeding. Even Governor Martin, looking ahead to the senatorial race, solemnly urged his PUC to do something about Philadelphia conditions.

The commissioners responded. Upon completing the hearings, they tabled the GI petition and undertook a new, general investigation of taxi service in Philadelphia, as if the subject had never come up before. This consumed another two months. When the second series of hearings ended in May, the commissioners went back to Harrisburg and forgot the whole matter. Proddings from all sides, including a court order, failed to stir them. On December 4—a safe month after Election Day—they handed down an order denying the GI petition. Their decision did not come quite as a surprise, since an alert Harrisburg newsman had discovered the report and had filed a story on it in August, nearly four months earlier.

Knowing what to expect, the veterans were already embarked on their cocky defiance of the PUC. The "free-cab" idea had been tried out successfully by another group of ex-soldiers faced with an almost identical situation 3,000 miles away. The War Veterans' Taxicab Association of Los Angeles, denied a franchise by their own Board of Public Utilities, had been giving away rides to advantage since the previous May, and had at length won a reversal. The Philadelphians took a leaf from their book, and have been conning it diligently ever since.

"It is our firm conviction," wrote the commissioners in the order refusing the franchise, "that such a corporation [as that proposed by the GIs], so organized and so managed, will not only fail to render efficient, safe and responsible service to the public, but will also fail to furnish any financial reward to its veteran stockholders."

So far, so good

THE GIs, without a corporation or a franchise, have been humping themselves daily to demonstrate the falsity of these contentions. They carry the full insurance required of cab drivers everywhere. A detective bureau checks regularly on the honesty, courtesy and efficiency of the operators. Two-way-radio call service is in the offing. And as for financial returns—Edward Rumford, a former Yellow driver, has averaged $140 a week for the past six weeks. Alfred O'Donnell earned $50 a week as a commercial pilot after his discharge, then came to the GI Association and is averaging $115. Pat Carpino, a former truck driver, cleared $18.50 during his first night as a substitute. And these men are not yet owners. They operate cabs for association members like Nick Glorn, during the owner's off-hours, on a 50-50 basis.

The GIs have their fingers crossed. They know that the future may not be as rosy as the present. But they are hoping that Yellow Cab will find GI taxis more embarrassing as free cabs than as legitimate competitors; and that the PUC will reverse its decision as soon as it finds a graceful means of doing so.

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Law or War— A Time to Choose

by Cord Meyer Jr.

The American Veterans' Committee insists that world security depends on amending the UN Charter immediately

THE national officers of the American Veterans' Committee have adopted unanimously a resolution advocating changes in the present structure of the United Nations. These changes demand a sharp and clearly defined limitation on the sovereignty of every member of the UN. The American Veterans' Committee feels that the present peace is no more than a temporary and unstable truce as long as it is underlaid with fear. It feels that the United States should be the first to propose changes in the UN Charter to strike at the roots of fear; it feels that this is the only liberal foreign policy to balance against the get-tough-with-Russia program of reaction, and the uncritical appeasement advocated by fellow travelers.

If the primary purpose of American foreign policy is to prevent rather than to win the next war, it must be directed toward finding an escape from the classic sequence that has so frequently led to war in the past. Each sovereign state, by its very sovereignty, is forced into desperate competition for atomic bombs, rockets and deadly bacteria. Given the deadly and decisive advantage that modern arms bring to the element of surprise assault, this competition is an ever present menace to the existence of every other state. It generates a chain reaction of mutual fear and distrust whose end result is easily predictable.

To date the one positive effort the US Government has made to end the arms race is the Baruch plan. The US offers to dispose of its atomic bombs and give up its technical knowledge on condition that the other nations accept inspection and an Atomic Development Authority with an international monopoly of the potentially dangerous aspects of the peaceful development of atomic energy. Once this system of control has been established, surprise attack with atomic bombs would be impossible because the only way for a nation to produce bombs would be to seize publicly the plants of the international Authority. These plants are to be designed so that it would take at least three months to convert them to the manufacture of atomic weapons. Finally, the plan demands that the permanent members of the Security Council waive their veto rights in all matters that concern atomic energy.

Russian resistance to a surrender of her voting prerogatives has concentrated criticism on this particular aspect of the Baruch plan and concealed understanding of its deeper defects. The controversy over the veto is meaningless because, veto or no veto, war would inevitably result if a powerful nation attempted to seize the plants of the international agency located within its territory. This act of seizure would be such a clear warning of intent to commit aggression that it would only be attempted in coordination with a general attack launched with rockets, bacteria and air-borne armies. No majority vote in the Security Council could disguise this reality or provide protection. Even if the Baruch plan were accepted and put into operation, war would remain a continuing possibility for which each nation would be free to prepare by constructing arms other than atomic bombs.

For example, how can atomic energy be internationally controlled when unrestricted competition continues for every other means of mass destruction? The Soviet government can hardly be expected to cease its efforts to produce atomic bombs or to permit inspection if the US is to continue the production of biological weapons and strategic bombers with which it is capable of making Russian cities uninhabitable. From the point of view of American security, the Senate would be justified in refusing to destroy our atomic bombs until given reliable guarantees that the Russians were demobilizing the Red Army and not preparing for biological warfare.

First, prevent aggression

THIS analysis of the Baruch plan seems to indicate that the international control of atomic energy cannot be treated apart from the larger problem of erecting enforceable safeguards against all forms of aggression. One particular type of weapon cannot be eliminated while others are retained and while nations continue to rely on their separate armies, navies and air forces for protection from one another. The AVC resolution recognizes this in stating that, if the cycle of fear, armament and war is to be broken, "the objective must be a system of security that provides the US, the Soviet Union and the other nations with the assurance that the planning of aggression can be swiftly and effectively prevented in its early stages before mass warfare has occurred." This objective can and should be realized through the amendment process provided in the UN Charter.

Once the US is committed to this pol-

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icy of strengthening the UN until it can prevent aggression, the next step is to obtain the voluntary and coöperative agreement of the Soviet Union. Until the US has clearly and unequivocally offered such an over-all solution of the security problem to the Soviet Union, that country has no alternative but to continue its present desperate attempts to equal American power.

Security can be guaranteed

THE substance of the AVC proposal is admittedly radical—but it is not a remote and impractical ideal. There must be created out of the present United Nations an organization powerful enough *in its own right* to guarantee security to its member states. Unless they can have real confidence in this organization, they are condemned to mutual suspicion and a competitive armament race for their own protection.

The resolution proposes that there must be a clean break with the idea that security can be found in a formal promise of sovereign nations to use their respective armies jointly against any one of their number that commits aggression. If the aggressor state is heavily armed, a majority decision in the Security Council to take collective action against it could only clothe with the illusion of legality the grim fact that World War III had begun. No state can afford to stop its war preparations unless it receives in return assurance that the UN can act swiftly and decisively to halt the first attempt to prepare for war.

In other words, the UN must be granted the constitutional authority to pass laws which will be binding as a first duty upon the individual inhabitants of the world; and the national governments must be prohibited from passing contrary legislation. Second, this law-making authority of the UN must be strictly limited only to those matters indispensable to the prevention of international warfare. They are three: the prohibition of the national manufacture or ownership of the weapons of mass destruction, atomic bombs, deadly bacteria, bombing and rocket fleets, mass infantry, mechanized armies and the like; the prohibition of the planning or initiation of war, the managerial control of the potentially dangerous peacetime uses of atomic energy.

Finally—*and most important*—the UN must have the authority to raise and support police forces, strategically located and armed with the most effective modern weapons. This international force must not consist of contingents of national armies earmarked for use by the Security Council as provided in Article 43 of the Charter. If it is to offer dependable protection, it must be a force independent of the nations and responsible to the UN alone. This world guard must be sufficiently powerful to discourage the possibility of national revolt. Its monopoly of modern armament will simplify that task.

Sovereignty curtailed

THE specific terms of this system of security will have to be laid down in the revised charter. The more exact and specific the US offer is in this respect the better, because it must be made clear that no nation is being asked to surrender anything but its right and power to wage war. Each national government will retain exclusive control of its domestic government and economy and its foreign trade. The resolution attempts to sketch the outline of a constitutional mechanism for the security system that would be both workable and acceptable to all.

The General Assembly of the UN can be made a legislative branch of world government with the delegates of each nation elected as its government may determine. The "one-nation, one-vote rule" prevailing in the present Assembly must be amended so that each state may be equitably represented in proportion to the size of its population and industrial capacity. Since the Assembly will be restricted to implementing the agreed and basic law of the revised Charter with decisions of an administrative nature, the fear of being outvoted will be greatly reduced. A two-thirds or three-quarters majority should perhaps be required for major decisions.

The Security Council can be reconstituted as an executive cabinet responsible to the Assembly. The great powers should rotate among their delegates the important posts in the cabinet, but the veto cannot be retained. After a nation has agreed to the organic law by ratifying the amendment to the Charter, there must be no second political decision in the executive through which one government can invalidate the law and protect its officials from the consequences of violation. Apprehension and punishment of individuals for attempts to manufacture the prohibited weapons must be as swift and automatic as possible.

A system of world courts is necessary, with compulsory jurisdiction in all cases arising under the world law. In addition to the police forces, an international corps of competent inspectors is essential, with carefully defined rights of free access into all states to guarantee that the illegal armament is not being produced. To simplify the problem of inspection, an Atomic Development Authority, having managerial control of peaceful atomic processes that could be easily diverted to weapons, seems indispensable.

World law or world war

THESE organizational problems deserve much more expert and detailed thinking than was devoted to them in the AVC resolution, but this outline makes it evident that varying forms of government do not make it impossible to realize an enforceable world law, as is often assumed. When the structure of security here proposed has been built, the fear of devastating attack which now corrupts the life of entire nations will no longer exist. Men will have won again the right to hope.

The opportunity to choose will not last for long. War itself may not be imminent, but in preparation for it policies are being adopted that may soon make it inescapable. The scientists are in agreement that the technical difficulties of initially establishing reliable controls over atomic and biological weapons increase daily. As Russia and the US accumulate the means of totally destroying each other, the mutual confidence essential to the first coöperative step is also destroyed. If the progressive groups in this country do not wish to be reduced to querulous impotence in the face of a massive and fatal program of preparedness, they have little time to lose in presenting a solution more constructive than appeasement.

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Henry Wallace

The Enemy Is Not Each Other

IN THESE DAYS when the common man is disgusted with the Democratic Party and critical of the "liberal split," we must remind ourselves of certain truths.

First, the people of the United States at heart are always liberal. Liberalism in the United States is like a hardy perennial. The wintry blasts of reaction have swept the country and for the moment liberalism has gone underground. In times like these we must remember our proud heritage. Study the small band of liberals who kept the torch of liberty aflame just before and during the American Revolution. What of Sam Adams, Tom Paine and the young Patrick Henry?

Of course, once Britain was beaten, the forces of reaction took over, as seems to be the case after so many great wars. But Thomas Jefferson went to the grass roots. Accused of sympathy with the French revolutionaries, he carried the cause of agrarian liberalism to triumph over the most vindictive opposition ever offered by American reactionaries. When the conservatives again took over, the Andrew Jackson progressives moved into Washington from over the mountains with their rough manners and muddy shoes. The Jackson spirit went underground when the Democratic Party became conservative, but this spirit rallied behind Lincoln when he said he put the man before the dollar. There we have the simplest definition of a liberal—one who, in case of conflict, puts human rights first and property rights second.

After the Civil War the progressive cause suffered from the longest, coldest winter in the history of America. Both parties went reactionary as a type of American fascism took over. More and more the great corporations controlled the government through their empires of finance, railroads, steel and oil.

The farmers of the West and South, disgusted with the old reactionary parties, started the populist movements. Liberalism began to stir again in both the reactionary parties. Bryan and Norris marched in from Nebraska, Teddy Roosevelt began his war on the malefactors of great wealth, and Bob La Follette Sr. fought the forces of reaction in a more sincere and fundamental way. The wave of liberalism in the South was one reason why state legislatures put in poll-tax laws—not only to keep Negroes from voting, but also to break the backbone of the populist movement among the whites. The liberal movement of the early days of the twentieth century was fragmented and disorganized, but it was sincere, with genuine grass roots. It reached its apex in Woodrow Wilson's New Freedom. When that went underground it carried with it the seeds that blossomed forth as Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal.

It is a proud and ancient heritage we have and it is worth noting that liberalism has always had strong roots in the West and South as well as the North. When the farmers are aroused, the liberals sweep into national power. It was the farmers who put over Jefferson, Jackson, Lincoln and, to a considerable degree, Franklin Roosevelt. No matter how industrialized the United States may become, I am convinced that all authentic liberal movements must have at least some participation by the farmers from the West and South if the movement is to be a real power in national politics.

TODAY the liberal movement is weaker than at any time since the days of Harding and Coolidge. But today the liberal movement is more needed than at any time in our history. It is needed because the reactionaries by their policies will almost certainly cause depression and finally war. Personally, I am interested in results rather than labels, and if the Republican Congress and a Republican President could give us lasting prosperity and enduring peace, I should be happy to see the Republicans remain in power forever in the United States. But over the years I have learned to know Republican congressmen and the power behind them so well that I am certain it is politically impossible for them to take the action necessary to ensure peace and prosperity.

The Republican congressmen still think the key to prosperity is lower taxes, higher tariffs and freedom for big business to return to its ancient habits of profiteering periodically and spasmodically at the expense of labor, consumer and farmer. It is a simple formula which always works for a time. But it will not work for so long a period after this war as it did after the last one, and when it fails to work, the consequences will be graver. The Republican congressmen have always believed unconsciously in exporting our domestic troubles abroad. That is what higher tariffs mean, especially when adopted by a creditor nation like the United States. When the United States forces its own unemployment and distressed farm prices on foreign nations, the result is even-

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tually revolution or war. Republican policies bounced back on us in 1930 in the form of depression and in 1939 in the form of world war. To prevent all this from happening again, the liberals must propose a positive program of full employment and prosperity on the domestic front; international economic peace; an abiding world peace; understanding with Russia; coöperation with a liberal Britain, France and China in building up the backward areas of the world; full use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes only, a strong United Nations and maximum disarmament based on international understanding.

THE liberal responsibility is great and at the moment the liberal forces are divided. But I refuse to think they are so seriously divided as is indicated by those columnists and commentators who make their living by creating and utilizing confusion and discord. Certainly the liberals are not so badly split as in the days when Bryan, Teddy Roosevelt, Bob La Follette and Woodrow Wilson were pulling in different directions. The trouble with liberals has been that they have been more willing to call each other names than to fight the reactionaries. Of course, the reactionaries disagree among themselves as much as we do, but they are practical enough to keep their quarrels out of the newspapers. They know they have to submit to political discipline and present a common front. The point I want to make is that the liberals today in the so-called warring groups are about 90 percent in agreement. Some people who have read about "Mrs. Roosevelt's ADA and Henry Wallace's PCA" have written in, asking, "How does it happen that Henry Wallace and Mrs. Roosevelt are in warring camps?" The answer is, "We are not." I am not a member or an officer of the PCA and Mrs. Roosevelt, to the best of my knowledge, is not a member or an officer of the ADA. I spoke to one organization urging unity in the progressive ranks. Mrs. Roosevelt spoke to the other. We both believe in using the underlying liberal force of the country to make the Democratic Party into a genuine progressive instrument. It was that during Franklin Roosevelt's first two terms. It can be made that again.

The *New Republic* proposes to work with liberals wherever it may find them. We shall work with the Democratic Party, although we know that some Democrats are as reactionary as the most reactionary Republican. We shall work with all the liberal organizations, even though there may be some people and some policies in each organization of which we disapprove. Disagreement and heated discussion are healthy as long as they are not used by the forces of reaction to deceive the public. Once a particular liberal organization, after full grass-roots debate, decides on action, there should be a sense of discipline and restraint as full effort is put behind the program on the basis of the agreed-on priority. Timing and priority are all important. What is needed today is progressive unity. But whether or not the liberal Democrats, the PCA and the ADA compose their differences, we on the *New Republic* know that the liberal cause is bigger than any of them and will outlast any of them. Our allegiance is to the cause and not to the organization as such. We are not going to say "A plague on both your houses," but rather "A blessing on all your houses." And unless there is a blessing, this current comedy may well turn out to be a tragedy for the United States and the world.

The United States cannot indefinitely go Right while the rest of the world is going Left, without an explosion. The *New Republic* believes the long-time trend of history is on the side of liberalism. By liberalism we mean that particular type of leftward trend which best preserves and enriches humanity in its control over and appreciation of nature. We believe that an authentic American progressivism must be developed which has as much driving power on behalf of the common man in the United States as Marxism has in Russia. We believe in a mixed economy, with whatever government planning may be necessary under the President's Economic Council. We believe in a peaceful understanding with Russia as item number one in our foreign policy. We are not laissez-faire liberals of the old-fashioned Manchester School. Neither are we Red-baiting liberals of the "disillusioned Marxist" type.

BY REASON of history, geography and sheer economic strength America has it in her grasp to furnish that great and lasting peace which the prophets and sages have preached for thousands of years. Peace and prosperity at home and abroad is our everlasting theme. Because we are liberals, we know we can't have peace and prosperity at home without having it abroad. And the outside world, which is now so dependent on American products and American markets, knows that trouble in the United States will usher in trouble for everyone else.

The progressives of many nations wish us well, here in the United States. They fear a repetition of depression and isolationism with tariff wars, blocked exchanges, a revival of nationalism and the recreation of Central European fascist states as the old effort is made again to find a buffer against Russia. True progressives abroad want an active, vital liberalism operating in America as an example to the world that it is not necessary to have a "police state" of either the Left or Right in order to have peace and prosperity.

Successful liberalism means a new sense of discipline. There is no room for prima donnas or name-calling or minor differences when really great issues are at stake. The enemy is not each other but reaction. H. A. W.

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A New Deal With Russia: III

What are we going to do about Eastern Europe? A New Republic survey of the hopes and fears of seven ravaged nations

IF WE are to reach an over-all understanding with the Soviet Union, we must first get down to cases and decide what is to be done about two areas that lie between us: Germany and Eastern Europe. In March, after several rounds of maneuver and postponement, we are finally going to sit down in four-power session to try to agree on the future of Germany. But that won't settle the future of the countries immediately to the east and southeast of Germany.

Some people argue that the future of those countries—Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Rumania, Albania and Bulgaria—has already been settled and that they have been pulled into the Russian orbit for keeps. Politically, there is no doubt that Russia now exercises dominion over the area. But it is also argued that, economically as well, Eastern Europe and the USSR are in process of becoming a tight bloc from which the West is excluded.

This line of argument writes off all of Eastern Europe as irrevocably "lost" to the West, and proposes that we recognize this demarcation by drawing a final economic and political border line farther west between two worlds. But what this argument overlooks is the fact that the new regimes of Eastern Europe are struggling first of all to rehabilitate their shattered economies and to create out of the vacuum left by Nazi penetration and collapse a new national and regional structure. Because they are industrially backward and lack many basic natural resources, these countries must trade abroad if they are to live—and they must trade with the West as well as with the East. In order to get on their feet they need economic aid from the West and ultimately from Russia. To date we have helped through UNRRA. But if we slam the door of economic coöperation on them now, they will depend more and more on Russia.

Those who look on Eastern Europe as "lost" base their argument on two points: first, the predominance of bilateral trade (*i.e.*, trade with Russia) in the area, and second, economic collaboration with Russia in the area, as exemplified by the trade agreements signed by Hungary and Rumania.

But the primary fact about the trade of Eastern Europe is that it is like the trade of Europe as a whole: it is being conducted on an emergency basis. The mere fact of a trade treaty between Poland and Russia is taken to mean that the two countries are becoming economically interlocked. But all European countries which have anything to offer in this period of goods shortages are making trade treaties with one another, and the countries that are most successful in this are those which have an essential of life: Danish butter, Polish coal, Rumanian oil, French wool, Russian cotton. The goods famine, the lack of gold and the highly unstable currencies left by the war have forced upon most European countries the choice of bilateral trade or none at all.

When Czechoslovakia signs a trade treaty with Brazil, it is not news. But when she signs one with Russia, the American press proclaims: Czechs Join Red Economic Bloc.

It is true that since the war much of Eastern Europe's trade has been with the USSR. In 1945, practically all of it (excluding UNRRA shipments) was eastward; but it was just a trickle compared with prewar trade. In 1946, East European trade increased considerably, not only between Eastern European countries, but also with Western Europe.

If you want to see just how much present emergency conditions determine the trade of Eastern Europe, take the case of coal. Last year, Poland sent seven million tons out of her total coal exports of 12 million tons to Russia. But Russia herself has huge coal reserves and before the war was an exporter rather than an importer of coal. Poland is now looking to us for a reconstruction loan that will enable her to build up her coal production so that she will have 35 million tons available for export by 1949. Her natural markets then will again be Northern, Eastern and Central Europe—and not the Soviet Union.

The problem of transport

THE factor of transportation—or the lack of it—has determined what trade there has been in Eastern Europe since the war. Rail lines to the East were repaired by the Soviet armies as they advanced. But Danube River traffic has been greatly impeded by the presence of sunken ships. In Western Europe, rail transport has been rationed, with top priority granted to food shipments. To get around this, Czechoslovakia has organized a fleet of trucks to move goods to and from the Netherlands and Denmark, but trucks are terribly scarce, too. To make matters more difficult, shipment through Germany has to be paid for in scarce US dollars. Inflation has also boosted the cost of shipment through Poland. Given all these handi-

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This is the third of a series of articles by the editors of the New Republic *on the world's number-one problem of a Soviet-American settlement. The first, published in the issue of December 16, took up the subject of Russia's economic problems and our trade and rehabilitation problems in relation to them. The second, in the issue of December 30, dealt with the issues raised by Russia's territorial resurgence. Coming articles will survey other current areas of disagreement between Americans and Russians, with the object of proposing a common basis of understanding.*

—THE EDITORS

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caps, it is remarkable that trade has revived as much as it has.

A spectacular trade revival has occurred in Czechoslovakia and only 10 percent of it—according to figures just released in Czech foreign-trade permits—has been with Russia. The following chart shows how she has been able to rebuild her trade to quite an extent along prewar lines, reëstablishing links to the West:

Czechoslovakian Foreign Trade
During First Ten Months of 1946
(Czech Crowns Given in Millions)

Country	*Imports*	*Exports*
Switzerland	1,500	1,800
USSR	1,400	1,700
USA	1,500	1,200
England	1,500	900
Sweden	1,000	1,400
Holland	500	1,100
Denmark	250	900
All Others	6,900	8,000
	14,550	17,000

From this it should be clear that no one country dominates Czech trade.

Reparations and development

IN THE Balkans trade revival has lagged. Countries normally exporting grain have had to cope with war's devastation and a lack of draft animals, seed and equipment, leaving them little with which to trade. With the exception of Albania, they have all made trade agreements with Western European countries, but substantial deliveries depend on agricultural and industrial rehabilitation or both.

Meanwhile movement of goods eastward from ex-enemy Hungary and Rumania to Russia is partly for reparations, and partly in exchange for Soviet supplies. Until the reparations bill is paid, the movement of goods between these countries and Russia will continue to be large. The strongest East European economic ties to Russia are contained in the collaboration agreements entered into by Hungary and Rumania. These agreements with Russia run for five years or more unless denounced by either party. Under them, joint companies have been set up for the development and expansion of Hungarian and Rumanian resources and industry. The old Rumanian state monopoly of air transport, for instance, has been replaced by a joint Russian-Rumanian monopoly and has been resuscitated by the addition of some Russian planes. The Soviet-Rumanian Oil Company, on the other hand, is not a monopoly; Standard Oil and Royal Dutch Shell are still doing business at their old stands. The chief emphasis of these corporations appears to be less on trade than on development. To them Russia contributes German properties coming to her as German external assets under the Potsdam agreement, technical personnel and some equipment. She gets 50 percent of the shares and receives 50 percent of the profits.

Whether these joint companies will turn out to be primarily means of developing and strengthening Hungary and Rumania or merely a device to enable the USSR to capitalize on its newly acquired properties, only the future can determine. The future of occupied countries everywhere hangs in the balance, because all the occupying powers are busily engaged in consolidating themselves and bettering their respective positions in preparation for the settlement of the really big issues yet to be discussed: above all, the future economic role of Germany. In the light of this higher strategy, sparring for position on the part of the great powers will go on until the US and the USSR have reached a final peace settlement.

Reorganization the prime need

WHAT Eastern Europe faces is not only a gigantic reconstruction job but also the need for a complete reorganization of its economic life. During the period between the two wars, the whole of Eastern Europe, with the exception of Czechoslovakia, was little better than a rural slum. The bulk of the population worked extremely small farms with primitive tools. An area only one-seventh the size of the United States had to support some 90 million people.

Even after World War I, large feudal estates continued to dominate the economic and political life of Poland and Hungary. Modern industry and transportation were introduced slowly into this area, but they did not serve to liberate the people. Rather they turned it into a colony of Western capital. While all of the region's countries save Czechoslovakia became bogged down in petty jealousies and manipulation by rival powers, outside capital won control not only of most of their natural resources but of many of their banks, insurance companies and factories as well. Foreign owners controlled some 40 percent of the capital of Poland's industries—Germans having the largest share, followed in turn by Belgians, Frenchmen, Americans and British.

Each rival capitalist interest pulled in a different direction until the thirties, when the Germans gained ascendency. Then and only then was the region at all integrated. But even then it was not integrated with itself but simply with the Nazi war machine, which used it as a source of food and raw materials.

Liberation from the Nazis meant a complete social upheaval in most of the area. In country after country land-hungry peasants took over the large estates. By the end of 1945, Poland, Rumania,

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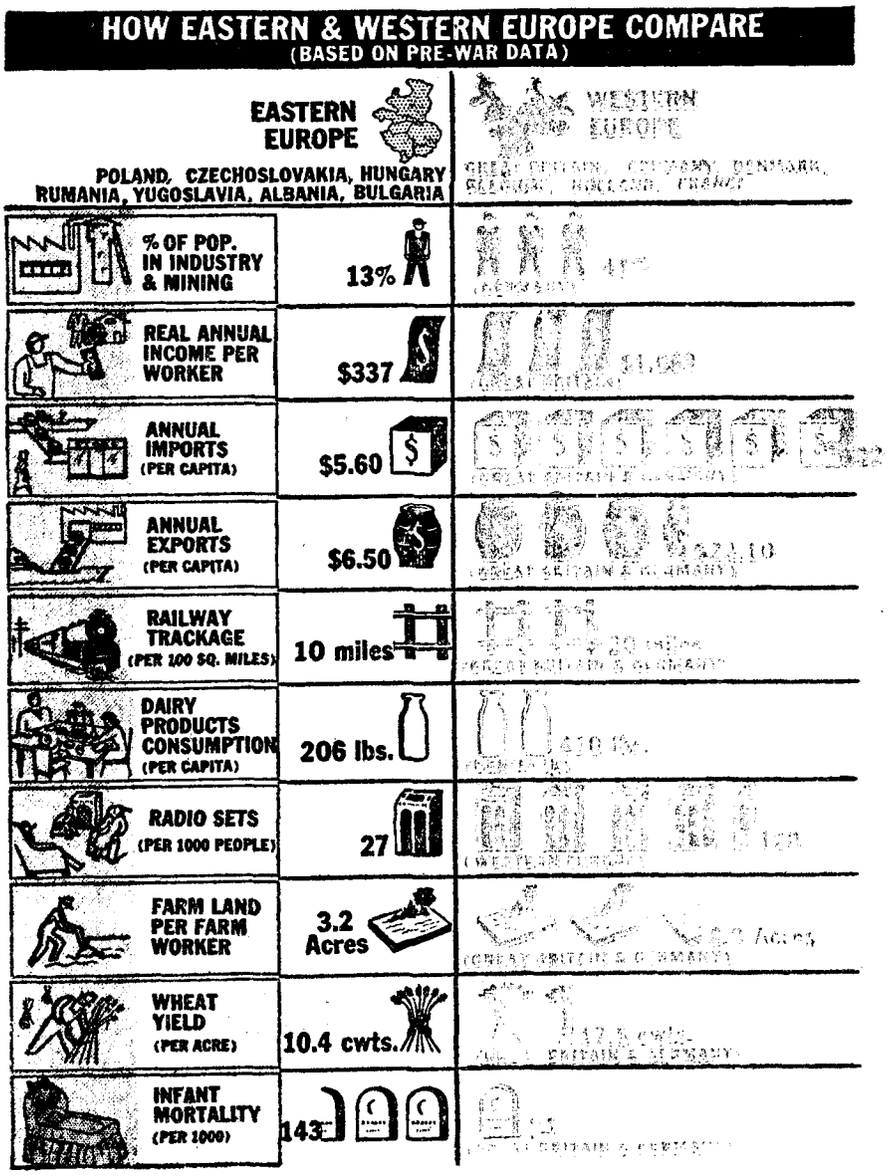
Hungary, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia had each enacted a drastic land-reform law. Land was distributed in parcels of varying size on the basis of need and applicants' qualifications. Prices were low—for example, the money equivalent of one year's crops—and the new owner could pay off in 10 or 20 annual instalments. Hungary confiscated almost one-third of the country's acreage and distributed this to more than 700,000 peasant families. In Poland, estates amounting to about 25 percent of the cultivated land were parceled out among 400,000 families.

A striking feature of the present agrarian revolution is the division of the confiscated estates into small, individually owned farmsteads, rather than the establishment of collectives or state farms on the Russian model. In the interests of modernization, the new laws carefully reserve land for the establishment of model farms, experimental stations and agronomical institutes. Hungary is now embarked on a plan to substitute intensive dairy and garden farming for her former unprofitable preoccupation with wheat. Poland and Rumania are promising their peasants speedy rural electrification, more fertilizer, better implements and cheap credit facilities.

But in the long run, the new agrarian reforms cannot achieve success unless there is also a substantial expansion of industry. What little industry Eastern Europe possessed, the retreating Nazis left in a ruined condition. The nations of Eastern Europe suffered not only physical disorganization of their industry but a complete chaos of property relations. In Czechoslovakia, for example, the lion's share of the nation's mines, foundries and steel mills had come under the control of the Hermann Goering Werke, while the I. G. Farben cartel had taken over important chemical plants. In Yugoslavia, the Nazis had bought out the individual French shareholders of the Bor copper mines. In Rumania, the Nazis likewise had bought out French and Belgian oil interests.

What then was to be done with the mines, mills and factories left ownerless by the defeat of the Germans, by the condemnation of the collaborators, or by the sheer absence of legitimate claimants? As President Benes of Czechoslovakia asked: "Are we now to divide it [former German property] among Czech capitalists and industrialists? Or is it not better to give it to the state and nation?"



Czechoslovakia sets an example

IN THE area as a whole, so recently and incompletely freed from the shackles of feudalism, there is no deeply rooted tradition of private industrial enterprise. Government participation in industry even before the war was widespread. The Polish state, for example, owned practically all of Poland's railroads and shipping, and had substantial interests in smelting, insurance, banking, etc.

The pattern of nationalization upon which postwar Czechoslovakia, Poland and Yugoslavia decided resembles to a considerable degree the mixed economies which have been set up in England and France. Heavy industry, banking and exploitation of natural resources are taken over by the state, while other fields are reserved for private capital. Since Eastern Europe is today overwhelmingly agricultural, the fact that private ownership in land has been increased since the end of the war provides a strong counter-balance to socialist trends in industry.

As a matter of fact, the first nation in the area to adopt an over-all nationalization law was Czechoslovakia, the most industrially advanced and both geographically and politically the westernmost. A few key industries—such as mining, steel, chemicals—were nationalized from top to bottom; in other fields

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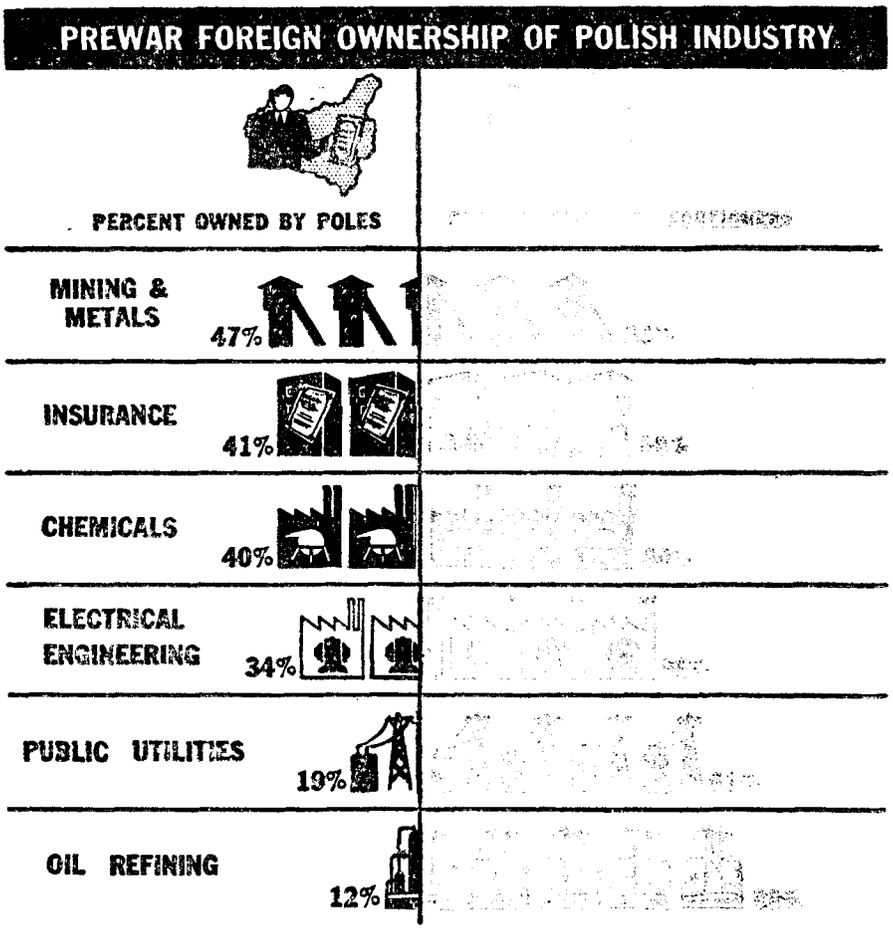
only the larger enterprises went to the state.

By the middle of 1946 about two-thirds of Czech industry, in terms of the value of the goods produced, had been nationalized. From now on the setting up of new enterprises in the completely state-owned fields is limited to the state. With the exception of mines, however, the state can turn over the privilege to private outfits which agree to abide by certain rules. The pattern is clear—the important areas of Czech industry are under governmental control, and are going to stay there. Independent shopkeepers, professionals, handworkers, owners of small and medium-size factories—in fact quite a wide variety of businessmen—may continue to own and run their own shows. But no one of them can look forward to piling up a great industrial empire, and no individual foreign investor can expect to gain control of any substantial Czech enterprise.

The East must import

POLAND and Yugoslavia, in essentials have followed the Czech example. Mines, utilities, munitions, food and textile industries are on the nationalization lists either for complete government operation of the industry as such or state ownership of the larger companies within the industry. Compensation is to be paid, except to Germans and their collaborators, which means that the great bulk of properties won't have to be paid for at all.

Such are the new blueprints of Eastern Europe. But the realities still lag far behind. The primary fact of life about Eastern Europe is that during the coming reconstruction period the whole region will go on being a deficit area, with large import needs and with little to export. Russia, too, will go on being such a deficit area. And the next basic fact about Eastern Europe and Russia together is that their resources and products do not complement each other. In ordinary times the exports of both areas are quite similar—chiefly food, agricultural products and semi-processed goods. This means that Russia's import needs cannot be supplied by Eastern Europe, and Eastern Europe's import needs cannot be supplied by Russia. And this in turn means that the idea of a closed economic bloc made up of Eastern Europe and Russia is simply false. Both areas need help—not from each other, but from outside.



After reconstruction

WHAT ABOUT the time when the countries of Eastern Europe have gotten back to their 1939 levels of production? They will still face the gigantic job of transforming a primarily agricultural economy into a modern industrial state and modernizing farming methods. This period will require long-term development loans to finance imports of all kinds of machinery and equipment. According to one estimate, the industrialization of Eastern Europe will require approximately $2 billion per year for the next ten years, only half of which could be supplied locally, and an additional half a billion dollars to improve agriculture.

Russia cannot supply these needs. Until she has climbed considerably beyond her prewar level of production, she will not be able to export large quantities of the products of heavy industry. The Russians take great pride in the fact that by 1937 they were exporting certain products such as agricultural machinery, tractors, textile machinery, coal, coke, pig iron and fertilizer, which before 1930 they had had to import. But the total amounts of such exports were extremely small. It is clear that the chief industrial needs of Eastern Europe can be met only from the West.

The argument is sometimes advanced that although it is to the economic self-interest of the Eastern European countries to face West as well as East, the Russians will not allow them to do so. In the case of the United Nations countries—Poland, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia—this is palpably absurd. The USSR wants its friends to be strong. Since the USSR cannot lend substantial help to Eastern Europe, it will not stand in the way of Eastern Europe's obtaining from the West what is needed to do the job. The question then remains, can Eastern Europe and Russia obtain the industrial equipment they need for reconstruction and development from other European countries? For the mo-

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LACK OF INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT IN EASTERN EUROPE HAS KEPT STANDARDS OF LIVING LOW

Country	*Percentage of active population engaged in industry, mining and handicrafts*	*Length of railways per square mile*	*Average real income per capita of working population from 1925-34*
Bulgaria	8.5 percent	5 miles	$284 per year
Rumania	10 "	7 "	243 " "
Yugoslavia	10.7 "	6 "	330 " "
Poland	16.9 "	8 "	352 " "
Hungary	23.9 "	15 "	359 " "
Czechoslovakia	38.2 "	16 "	455 " "

ment, Sweden and Switzerland are the most promising sources. They both have heavy industry which has not been damaged by the war. Both countries have substantial gold balances. They are in a position to extend credit. Sweden has already made a long-term loan to Russia and concluded a five-year trade agreement. It is clear from this treaty that Sweden is facing both ways, East as well as West, and using a long-term treaty to steady her economy both from the point of view of an even flow of necessary imports and a sure market for her goods. Switzerland is also anxious to do a large business with Russia and is now negotiating a loan for that purpose.

To stabilize their textile industry, the Czechs have been negotiating with the Russians an arrangement whereby Russia would supply most of the textile raw materials Czechoslovakia needs and buy a large amount of finished textiles. The Czechs are elated over this arrangement as a means of guaranteeing the future independence of their textile industry from the disastrous oscillation between top demand and depression from which the Czech textile industry has suffered in the past. England, thinking along the same lines, has also made a long-term wheat agreement with Canada.

Lend in order to sell

THE future may see many more such agreements, especially if we in the United States decline to enter into arrangements for stabilizing prices of primary commodities entering world trade and—more important—if we fail to assume responsibility for the maintenance of prosperity at home. The spectre of a new American depression hangs over all alike. Long-term trade agreements provide capitalist countries with a form of self-protection against an American depression, and they provide an adjunct to national planning for countries with a mixed economy such as France, Great Britain and the new regimes in Eastern Europe. Small countries, vitally dependent on imports and exports, need stable prices for goods entering international trade, irrespective of the type of economy they possess. And the more they attempt to plan their future economic development, the more they will want to introduce as much stability as possible into their international economic relations. In default of aid from the great Western powers, we shall probably see Eastern European countries entering into preferential regional agreements of their own—a thing to which we are officially opposed.

Despite this, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia may yet work out some arrangement for the exchange of large quantities of Yugoslav metals for Czech machinery.

The obvious answer to the needs of Eastern Europe and the USSR is American equipment financed by long-term loans. Right now there is no pressure from American industry to support such a policy, as our industry is busy supplying the home market. But such pressure may develop when we have caught up with the home demand for the products of heavy industry. Then we will have goods and capital in great abundance for export. In fact, the chances are that unless we export large amounts of American products and finance their purchase by long-term loans, we shall face layoffs and unemployment in American industry.

We shall be deluding ourselves, however, if we think that by playing politics with our loans we can turn back the social clock in that area. Although these countries need our goods and loans desperately, they are not going to allow themselves to drift back into the old stalemate, with both the rate and direction of industrial development left to chance and the whim of foreign interests intent on quick profits. Not only did these countries lose their independence in the process but they failed to get the amount and kind of investment which would have enabled them to move industrially ahead. Nor can the Soviet Union be expected to stand idly by in case foreign concessionaires gather up new great holdings in the area.

It's our move now

YET IT IS we who have the initiative and not the Russians because it is we who have what the job takes—the resources, skills, equipment and capital for the reconstruction of Europe and the industrial development of backward regions. The Russians do not have this, not even for their own great needs, let alone for the needs of the rest of the world. That leaves us a choice. We can turn our backs on Europe and make no more loans to people who persist in voting Left. Or we can support international coöperation in the economic field and thereby make whatever capital is available go furthest in terms of an international program of reconstruction and development. Which loan policy are we going to follow?

If we try to split Europe down the middle by helping one part of it with loans but not the other, we may succeed only in delaying the integration of Europe. It is possible that, no matter what we do, we cannot alter the drift toward socialization of basic industries and planned economies in Europe. If we were to split the continent, the consequences for Eastern Europe would be disastrous. In such an event Eastern

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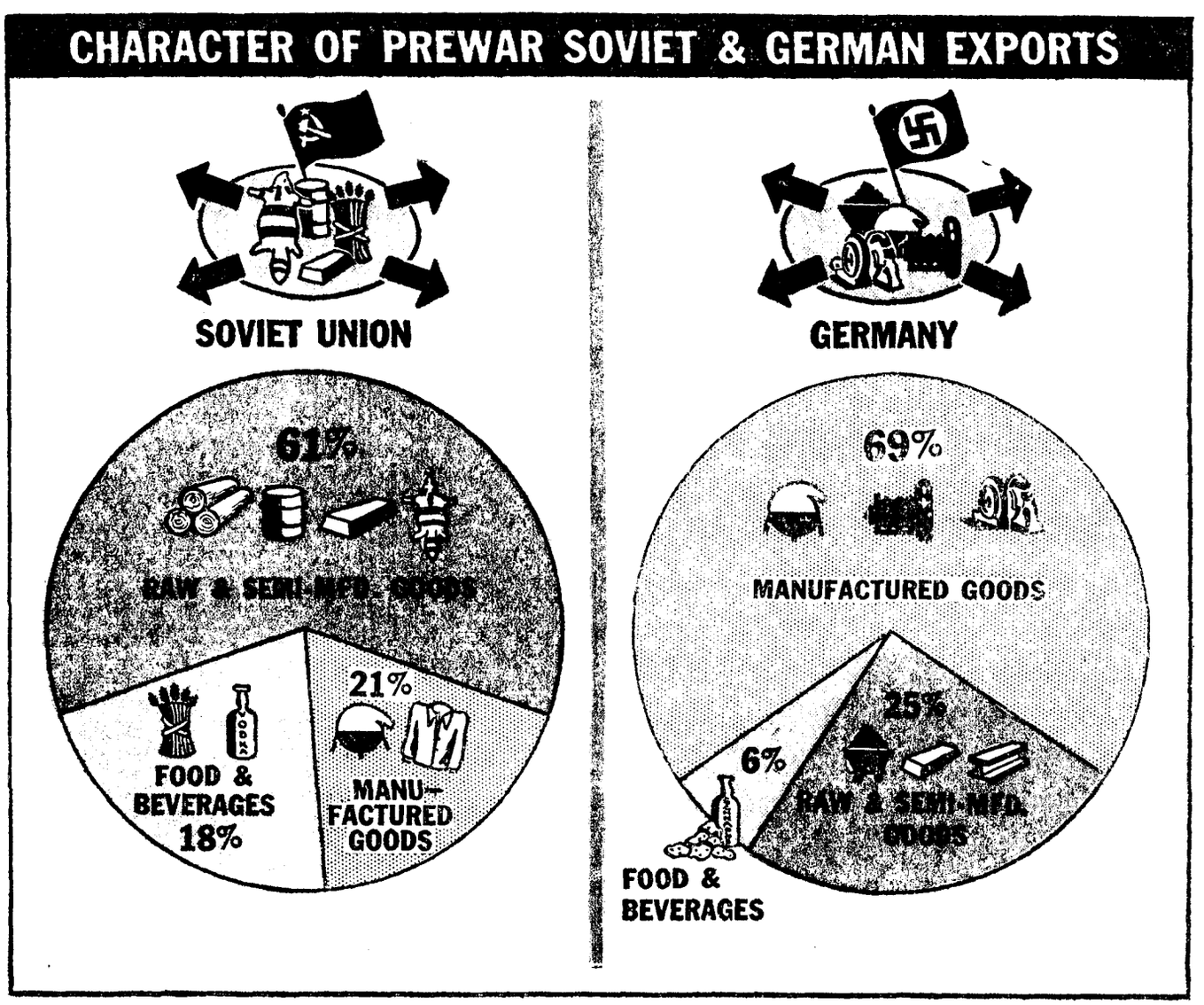
Europe would have to become industrialized the hard way, by pulling itself up by its own bootstraps. This means buying expensive machinery, building factories, railroads and power stations, not on a long-term credit basis—the normal way to finance development projects—but out of current income, and a very low income at that.

If the new Economic Commission for Europe and the Far East, created to formulate a long-term program for the reconstruction and development of Europe as a whole, is not implemented by the International Bank, and if the International Bank and Monetary Fund do not receive American support, we can presume that Russia on her own will do what she can for Eastern Europe—even at the expense of her own citizens. This follows from the Communist tenet that in the long run only industrially developed countries are "safe" for socialism. Russia has had experience in doing it the hard way herself, changing from a a poor agricultural to a powerful industrial nation without the aid of loans and isolated from the rest of the world. Russian know-how will be of help—and so, ultimately, will Russian equipment. Russia's economic collaboration agreements with Hungary and Rumania point in this direction, even though in terms of the needs of those countries they are only a beginning and not a substitute for long-term loans.

The ugly alternative to coöperation

If rival economic blocs become the order of the day, the countries of Eastern Europe—along with others—will lose the substance if not the form of independence. The living standards of the peoples in both blocs will suffer because the blocs' resources will be concentrated on war production. This concentration of resources on war preparation will be harder on Eastern Europe than on Western Europe, because the former is so much poorer to start with. Both blocs will suffer from isolation because in many ways they supplement each other. The Western nations have a capital surplus looking for investment; the Eastern nations need capital and could become an outlet for Western capital. Here, again, isolation will be harder on the East than it will be on the West. We will be embarrassed by our riches; the East will have to be industrialized the hard way. It is obvious therefore that while all suffer from the bloc system, the East suffers the most. In the economic field our great wealth of industrial capacity gives us the initiative. It is up to us to apply it.



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Hans Mueller from Steichen's photograph

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The Shrine

by Richard Strouse

From Florida, Venezuela and Malta they come to the home and the grave of Franklin Delano Roosevelt

JANUARY 30, Franklin Roosevelt's birthday, fell last year on a Wednesday that was sharp with cold and soft with a heavy snowfall in the valley of the Hudson. The National Park Service, then preparing the Roosevelt home at Hyde Park for its official dedication as a historic site the following April, decided to experiment in public invitation. It announced locally that, for the first time, the grounds would be opened to the public for three hours on his anniversary.

Hours before time, the first family of three appeared. Soon many of the President's neighbors arrived to pay respect. An elderly woman walked four miles through the snow from Poughkeepsie to be present. A well dressed man came later—he bared his head and knelt in the snow before the grave.

The dark figures muffled by the snow portended a phenomenon. Almost half a million other people have followed. They arrive by bus and train, private car and boat, on foot and bicycle. On busy days they line up outside the house and quietly wait their turn. One Sunday a tall farmer arrived late and was told he would be unable to go through the house. He explained patiently but insistently that he had arranged for a neighbor to do his Sunday-morning chores, had left Ohio before midnight with his family, had driven 17 hours, and had to be home in time to milk his cows Monday morning. He was one of the few for whom an exception was made to the standard "first-come-first-served" practice. A Florida bride who, like the farmer, arrived too late to buy a ticket to enter the house, became hysterical because her husband had promised her a trip through the Roosevelt Home as the feature of their honeymoon.

A small gentleman appeared one morning, introduced himself as "Edward Ceravolo, citizen" from Malta, and asked permission to make a presentation to Mrs. Roosevelt. He explained that he had made a vow, when Roosevelt and Churchill met at Malta, to return their visit after the war because of their sympathy for the afflicted Maltese. He had paid his own passage to England and the United States.

When a Cuban organization held a contest to choose the clubwomen who had done most to further Roosevelt's Good Neighbor policy, the winners were given a trip from Havana to Hyde Park.

The Guardians

THERE is a common attitude, American as well as international, toward Roosevelt and his belongings that is both proprietary and intimate. Visitor after visitor tells the attendants that he has traveled from Pittsburgh or Chicago or Venezuela to pay his respects to his best friend. A young Norwegian student announced confidently that he was sure Roosevelt would see him were he still alive.

The most common affirmative remark of visitors is, "If I could only ask Roosevelt's advice, I know he'd tell me what to do." Conversely, the most common questions asked are, "Where is the kitchen?" and "Do Mrs. Roosevelt and Fala live here now?" The house superintendent lacks manpower to open the kitchen, and is hoping that no international complications develop before he can get a staff. Mrs. Roosevelt took Fala into the house once during visiting hours. Although the visitors invariably treat Mrs. Roosevelt with great respect, and make no attempt to crowd her, they nearly smothered Fala, who has been left in a car or hidden away on subsequent visits.

The superintendent of the Franklin Delano Roosevelt National Historic Site is George Palmer, who supervised the Statue of Liberty for eight years. His historian is Frederick Rath. The library that FDR designed is administered by the Archivist of the United States. Palmer has changed things physically as little as possible. He is responsible for the grounds themselves, the house in which Roosevelt was born and which he used as his summer White House, Roosevelt's grave and several outbuildings. The only barriers are gray cotton strips to keep the public away from the garden around the grave. The only signs are small and unobtrusive. Although visitors have trampled the lawn into dust, Palmer has refused to fence it off; too many people want to walk under the trees that shaded Roosevelt.

Admission to the grounds and grave is free, but 25 cents is charged to enter the house. Within the house, the furnishings have not been altered. Roosevelt's naval battle prints still hang in the entrance hall; his magnifying glasses lies on the desk in the living-room where he arranged his stamps; one of his dressing gowns is thrown over the chaise longue at the foot of his bed. In the small sitting-room that Mrs. Sara Delano Roosevelt called her "snuggery," the same odd lamp globe, shaped like a bunch of grapes, hangs over the chair in which she read and visited.

The Home

"WE'VE tried to keep it looking as though President Roosevelt could return for the week-end," Palmer said. "It's unlikely that he could have held his job if he hadn't."

Chinese, Italian, French, Dutch, English and American furniture and objects are mixed unpretentiously in a house

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Richard Strouse is a motion-picture, radio and fiction writer whose recent stories and articles have appeared in Collier's, Liberty *and the* American Magazine.

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that was furnished for comfort rather than style. Pictures cover the walls at all levels. Clocks, statues, figurines and gimcracks are everywhere. Books in functional table bookstands rest near every chair. The over-all effect is startling and reassuring to visitors who had expected Roosevelt to live like the deity they considered him.

On the mantel in the snuggery, a lavender plastic bathroom glass, an inch-square photograph of Roosevelt pasted to it, stands next to an elaborate wrought-metal French clock. The bedroom used by Queen Elizabeth of England and Queen Wilhelmina of the Netherlands has perceptible cracks in the ceiling plaster. The bedroom used by Madame Chiang Kai-shek is lit by an ancient brass light fixture and has an old-fashioned wardrobe instead of a closet.

One visitor, studying the old brass bedstead used by the Prime Minister of Canada, said wonderingly, "But I threw a bed like that away years ago." A Philadelphia housewife, visiting the Home with her Citizenship and English class, put her hands to her face when she saw a small mortar and pestle in the hall and complained, "And one like that I brought with me from Russia I gave to the scrap-metal drive."

Many of the women visitors cry when they stand in the little railed enclosure opening into Roosevelt's bedroom. A tottering old lady who admitted to 95 insisted on climbing to the second floor because, "before I die, I have to see the bed in which my most wonderful friend was born."

The Pilgrims

THE groups that make the pilgrimage vary from kindergarten classes to women's clubs and from International Business Machine Company executives to union locals. Democratic Party, church, union, Negro and Jewish groups arrive regularly, but a touring class of Whitewater, Kansas, high-school seniors was a surprise. So were a Cuban Rotary Club and the German Order of Hernpari Lodge of Toledo, Ohio.

On a typical day, the Gold Star Mothers, the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union fellowship students, a New York Central Railroad photographer, Camp Kanawah, and Frank Kingdon visted the Home. The list is probably incomplete because Rath is usually too busy doubling as a traffic cop for pedestrians to collect information.

Boys' camps send visitors by the hundreds. On August 13, Camp Seneca of Pawling, Camp Stissing of Pine Plains, Camp Eton of Rhinebeck, the Hastings New York Day Camp and Camp Woodcliffe of Kingston were all represented by their individual deputations.

All roads lead to Hyde Park

FREE enterprise, in the classic tradition, has already begun to close in on the Roosevelt memorial. The more progressive among the national tours now feature Hyde Park in their itineraries. An Atlanta, Georgia, agency scooped its competitors by ingeniously substituting Hyde Park for West Point in its tour of the Yankee hinterland. A Chicago organization, promisingly named Happiness Tours, lists Niagara Falls, Hyde Park and New York City as the high points of its Eastern circuit. A promotional scheme called the Mystery Trip, for which a subscriber pays $5 to make a Sunday visit to an unknown destination, will reach the Home on an unannounced Sunday next summer.

A bus company runs a daily special from Manhattan to the Home from May through September. The New York-to-Albany excursion boat reported a vastly increased demand for stop-over privileges at Poughkeepsie, the pier nearest Hyde Park. Palmer dissuaded the New York Central from running special trains because he would have been unable to handle the crowds. The Pennsylvania Railroad publishes a neat throwaway, advertising "A very pleasant trip to Hyde Park for a visit to the Roosevelt Estate, now a National Shrine."

As word-of-mouth advertising spreads the story of the shrine, the number of pilgrims may become overwhelming. Already, without the benefit of publicity or the support of long-established tradition, the Roosevelt estate is approaching the attendance figures of Mount Vernon. On the Sunday before Labor Day, the top visiting day of the year, 9,300 people visited George Washington's Mount Vernon. Hyde Park drew 9,600 that day.

The nine-month figure of visitors through the end of December was 445,285. Of these, more than half paid their fee for admission to the house; how many more tickets could have been sold is a guess, for on crowded days ticket sales have to be stopped. The house and the library can handle only a limited number of visitors, and both are understaffed. The grave, however, can be seen by a much larger number, and the grave is the magnet.

Usually, the behavior of visitors follows a standard pattern. The rose garden in which the grave is located is surrounded by a magnificent 100-year-old, 20-foot hemlock hedge; visitors approach the grave on a path that leads through an opening in the hedge. As the tombstone appears through the opening, each person in the line slows down a little.

Inside the garden, in front of the grave, visitors press back against the hedge or forward against the tape so that they can stand quietly while others pass by. Most murmur prayers. Many cross themselves. Some kneel. Very few speak.

"A plain white monument"

THE grave lies before an unadorned parallelogram of white marble. Roosevelt designed the tombstone himself; his note of instructions is on file in the library:

"A plain white monument—no carving or decoration—to be placed over my grave, east and west, as follows: Length, 8 feet; width, 4 feet; height, 3 feet. Whole to be set on marble base extending 2 feet out from monument all around—but said base to be no more than 6 inches from the ground.

"I hope that my dear wife will on her death be buried there also and that the monument contain no device or inscription except the following, on the south side:

"FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT
1882–19—
"ANNA ELEANOR ROOSEVELT
1884–19—"

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United Nations News

The Daily Workers

IN LESS than a year, the permanent staff of the United Nations has expanded from 50 to 3,000. These 3,000 are the members of the Secretariat whose working hours are spent in a reconverted war plant at Lake Success; whose homes are now in Great Neck or Jamaica or Manhattan instead of Yugoslavia or France or Mexico; whose personnel and duties remain relatively constant as national delegations to the Security Council or the Economic and Social Council change; whose nationalities are 40-odd and whose jobs range from translating, writing and researching to administrating, advising and recommending.

Because of rapid expansion (the Secretariat has 600 times the number of employees it had last year) and because of the immensity of the task compared to the number of employees (where the UN has 3,000 workers to keep world-wide problems in order, the US has two million for similar national problems and General Motors has 361,000 for comparable industrial problems), it is difficult to evaluate the Secretariat's efficiency.

For one thing, the hiring principle has clashed with both practice and practicality almost from the beginning. The principle is the widest possible geographical representation. The practice from the start was to hire anybody who qualified, and it was a practical policy then, when personnel was badly needed. Because the UN was located in the United States, a great number of those hired in the early days were Americans. And because the first session of the General Assembly was in London, the second largest representation came from Britain.

Today the problem is not so simple. The principle still remains and the practice is to enforce it. Immediately the UN is forced to decide how and when to get rid of Americans; how to weed out the inefficient Americans and replace them with the best people available from Saudi Arabia or Poland or India; how to effect on-the-job training for these people without demoralizing the current staff.

The principle of geographical distribution is almost bound to breed geographical cliques. Trygve Lie of Norway comes in as Secretary-General and Norway becomes more interested in sending people to the Secretariat. Norwegians come into the Department of Public Information, the Department of Trusteeship and the Department of Social Affairs—in small and equitable numbers. Their immediate superiors may be Chinese, American, French or Chilean, but when these Norwegian workers have problems, they tend to take them to the office of Trygve Lie. It is unlikely that they will receive any special treatment from the Secretary-General, but the mere fact that they are Norwegian may influence their superiors.

By sheer numerical superiority and in many cases by sheer inefficiency and aggressiveness, the Americans have done much to develop this reaction. They have often created the impression that this is their United Nations. Small wonder that other workers have reacted as national rather than as international employees.

THE Americans present an additional problem in an organization where languages, travel and international training are necessarily important qualifications. If they are third or fourth-generation Americans, they may give a true reflection of American culture and American thinking. But a large number of the Americans who qualify on languages, travel and international background are naturalized citizens or first-generation Americans whose culture stems from Europe as well as from America. The Personnel Bureau of the Secretariat has had thrust on it the problem of which is the more important and has attempted to solve it in the only way possible: by judging the applicant on his qualifications and attitudes rather than on the fact that he is 100-percent American.

The UN must constantly decide whether to hire a name-man for a job or fit the man to the job despite his professional reputation. Recruitment campaigns have uncovered the predictable fact that the United Nations organization cannot compete with private industry as far as salaries go. A top film executive in France who is making $16,000 a year is not likely to accept a similar position in the United Nations for $5,600.

THE Bureau of Personnel, which is responsible for handling most of these problems, constitutes a problem in itself. Of its hundred-odd employees, a good two-thirds are Americans. Americans evaluate jobs and salaries, review applications, recruit, examine, administer, analyze and train prospective and current staff members. They and their colleagues give the Bureau representation from some nine different countries. They have reviewed more than 28,000 applications and have attempted to ferret out those whose backgrounds are suspect. They are handing out permanent contracts sparingly and only at high levels, preferring a one to three-year fixed-term contract instead.

But like every other UN division, personnel is new and stumbling. It has failed to profit from the mistakes made during the expansion of the League of Nations and of the US Government. It has both a conscious and unconscious fear of radical ideas and techniques; it cannot quite break away from a national outlook—in this case, American.

These are not the faults of the Bureau of Personnel alone. They are the faults of all UN departments. Perhaps they are the faults of any large organization that attempts to work with many groups and many beliefs and retain something of them all. Yet they are the faults that lead to a stultified bureaucracy, to a lack of perspective. This lack of perspective —the feeling of one person doing one job unrelated to other jobs—is apparent throughout the UN. Perhaps the time has not yet come when it can be corrected. Time and maturity may solve it. The United Nations is a great and ambitious idea. Its Secretariat is part of that idea and does not yet realize it.

JANE BEDELL

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Farm

Five Acres & Independence

HARDLY a week goes by without someone asking me if he can go out and settle on a few acres and be independent—raise his food and a few chickens and sit back and enjoy life. If I am in a hurry I answer that anybody can make a go of a small farm if he has a good outside income to support it; and if I have time I tell my questioner a little about my own experiences.

About 20 years ago my brother and I decided we wanted to get rich by raising chickens and turkeys. Like thousands of other people, we couldn't understand why everybody didn't go out and get rich on a farm. We figured it all out with pencil and paper and in a few minutes' time we proved (to ourselves at least) that we could make $10,000 on chickens.

We had helped my mother raise chickens on our father's farm and the whole thing seemed very easy. But where my mother had gone wrong, my brother and I figured, was in raising chickens on such a small scale. We reasoned that, if my mother could make $300 or so from 200 chickens, we could make $3,000 from 2,000 chickens. And finally we decided that we wouldn't fool around with a paltry 2,000 chicks but would get at least 5,000. Why pass up such obviously easy money?

Mother thought we should start on a small scale and then, if we made it pay, expand our operations, but my brother and I, who were young, would not listen to the voice of experience. We went ahead with our plans. We built a brooder stove and ordered 5,000 chicks. I believe we paid five cents apiece to a fly-by-night hatchery for them. We could have ordered chicks at about ten cents, but decided that would be foolish. "What if a few of the chicks do die," said my brother. "We've got plenty to spare."

As it turned out a few of them did die. Five or six hundred were dead when they arrived. "No matter," said my brother, who was a great humorist. "Now there's not so many to take care of."

Every morning my brother and I would go out to the brooder house and clean out the dead chicks. They just seemed to lie down and die for no reason at all. Then one night the brooder stove went out and it turned cold. That frosty morning we carried out more than 900 dead chickens. It's well known that when chickens get cold they pile up on each other and smother to death. There was a pile of dead chicks a foot and a half high.

WE HOPED to recoup part of our losses on turkeys, and we resolved not to make the same mistakes. "We won't buy the poults and watch them die," said my brother. "We'll buy turkey hens and a gobbler and let them assume responsibility." So we got 20 turkey hens and a gobbler and let them do the work. Soon we realized that the turkeys were planning something because they would disappear one by one in the morning after feeding, going off in different directions. The turkey hens were hiding out their nests and although my brother and I followed them we never could discover where the nests were. After a few weeks the turkeys reappeared with little ones trailing along behind them in dewy high grass and weeds. Most of them died, of course, or the foxes and owls carried them off.

Then one day the remaining turkeys, which by this time were about half-grown, rose in a body and flew off, as if by some secret, instinctive signal. My brother sat down on a big stump and, with a melancholy look on his face, rolled a cigarette. "You know, Angus," he said, "I don't believe chicken and turkey farming is what it's cracked up to be."

That year we lost about $2,000, I guess, on chickens and turkeys. If it hadn't been for our hog money, we should have had to quit the farming business entirely. We salvaged about two or three hundred of the 5,000 chickens and my brother laughed and said it seemed fitting because that was the size of the flock my mother had wanted us to start out with.

There are two points to this little story. One is that it takes a great deal of knowledge, skill, patience and hard work to raise chickens, and the other is that subsistence farming in general doesn't pay.

IF YOU are planning to go out and get five acres or even 20 acres and make a living on it, don't do it unless you have a lot of capital. Raising chickens and turkeys on a large scale does pay, as hundreds of farmers are proving every year, but the little fellow has less than an even chance.

Some of those who want to farm on a small scale will be successful, but probably only those who are willing to accept a somewhat lower standard of living. Perhaps a more practical move, if you want to live on a farm, is to hang on to your job, get a few acres and commute to and from work.

Many small farmers have been able to specialize in something or other and, by raising and canning, preserving and curing their food, have been able to live quite comfortably. I know a poultry farmer near Ithaca, New York, who is almost totally blind but, with the help of his wife and children, has made a wonderful success of running a chicken farm. He sells eggs to a hatchery at fancy prices and clears several thousand dollars a year. In 1937 he didn't have a dime, but he managed to get a small loan from Farm Security and after a terrific economic struggle made his farm pay.

This is a bad time to buy land anyway; throughout the US the average price of farmland is 83 percent above the 1935-39 average, and there is little good land left to be bought. Much of it has been seriously eroded or has had the nutrients extracted from it.

But if you have the land, or are lucky in buying, and are willing to put the necessary planning and study into it, then go to it. I think life on a small farm is the nearest thing to heaven you'll get on this earth—provided you don't go bankrupt.

ANGUS MCDONALD

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Books

War OR Peace?

THAT would be a happy time, when one could read a book on Tolstoy and write about it in a detached way. But one can't do that nowadays.

Professor Ernest J. Simmons, well known for several biographies and for a useful book on Soviet literature, has written a full and excellent biography of Leo Tolstoy (Little, Brown, $5) that includes a good deal of new research and new material, especially in the form of hitherto unknown diaries and letters.

Tolstoy's life is an epic of such dimensions that unavoidably its story and documentation invite disagreement at certain points. Professor Simmons, for example, dismisses rather lightly the influence on Tolstoy of the peasant Bondarev, who was exiled to Siberia because of his philosophy of salvation through work. But Tolstoy's very receptiveness to this simple man's ideas is one of his most important traits, psychologically and socially. Tolstoy, perhaps the greatest prose writer of all time, not only took ideas from this simple peasant but made one of his phrases immortal in the famous pamphlet "I Cannot Be Silent," in which he protests against the cruelties of the Czarist regime. One might also miss in Professor Simmons' book more reference to a psychoanalytic approach to Tolstoy's development, for which the Russian psychiatrist Ossipov has done such valuable spadework.

But it is not possible in these days to discuss a work on Tolstoy in a spirit of more or less formal appraisal. Rather do we have a feeling of gratitude to the author for putting before us now the picture of Tolstoy so vividly and so illuminated by factual details.

What is it that gives Tolstoy such meaning for us today? What is behind those memory labels that mention of his name conjures up in our minds: nonresistance, critique of pure science and art, mistrust of liberalism, religious life, chastity, inner truthfulness?

Not every great classical writer is a representative of his country. The humanity of Goethe, much invoked, does not symbolize the Germany of either the First or the Second World War.

When Winter's frown o'er Weimar town
Fades off and spring winds blow,
Praise God no voice may bring to him
The Germany we know.

The spirit of Shakespeare is difficult to discern in modern Britain. "England," as George Moore said, "produced Shakespeare; the British Empire the six-shilling novel." But Tolstoy *is* Russia.

Tolstoy is hard to classify. He was no paternalistic aristocrat, no socialist, no anarchist. He was not even a Tolstoyan. It is remarkable in the lives of how many people of good will the reading of Tolstoy has played a directing role, from Romain Rolland to Clarence Darrow, from Havelock Ellis to Thomas Mann.

COMPARISON with Mann may furnish an angle from which to view some of the immense material so well assembled in Professor Simmons' book. In Mann's writings a conflict is expressed between art and life. The same conflict on a much larger scale, on a much higher level and with far greater intensity existed in Tolstoy. Professor Simmons speaks of a "gigantic disharmony." On its most superficial level this conflict expressed itself as a conflict between art and life, so that at one time Tolstoy wanted to give up art entirely.

This emotional personal conflict was the reflection of a profound social crisis. Tolstoy represented the feudal nobility still rooted in a serf society and a precapitalistic economy at a time when it faced extinction and the threat of new classes, just as Mann represented the upper middle class at a similar stage of its development. Tied unconsciously to tradition, Tolstoy opposed capitalism in its early stages, just as Mann supported it in its later stages. They both wanted to banish evil without going to its roots, which differ in each historical epoch.

Tolstoy rose above this conflict to real greatness. Thomas Mann could no more describe a peasant or a worker than he could be read by them. Tolstoy, on the other hand, identified himself with peasants, understood them and was understood by them; he taught them and learned from them. While Mann in one of his stories condescendingly called a worker a "sympathetic Bolshevik," Tolstoy some 30 years before described in *Resurrection* a strike organizer who carried with him to exile in Siberia a copy of Marx's *Capital* (the first appearance of *Das Kapital* in fiction).

HIS voice was heard by millions. He needed no book clubs; he was one by himself. *Resurrection,* for example, despite interference by the censor, was the first Russian book immediately to attract a million readers. No other writer has been read so extensively by a whole population separated by such a gulf as that between the aristocracy and the peasants and workers. His simple stories and his moral and religious essays found wide circulation among the lower classes, who read in them a more uncompromising condemnation of the social order under which they suffered than any American muckraker would ever have dreamed of.

For a man who preached non-violence, Tolstoy used pretty violent language. When William Jennings Bryan asked him the standard question about what he would do if a brigand tried to kill a child in his presence, Tolstoy answered: "Having lived 75 years, I have never except in discussions encountered that fantastic brigand who before my eyes desired to kill or violate a child." He added that he did, however, see many brigands "using violence toward children and women and men and old people and all the laborers." "No one," he said, "has seen the fantastic brigand; but the world groaning under violence lies before everyone's eyes. Yet no one sees, nor desires to see, that the strife which can liberate man from violence is not a strife with the fantastic brigand, but with those actual brigands who practise violence over men."

Tolstoy knew why a man like Bryan considered his ideas delusional: "All the produce of human labor is swallowed up by those who do not work. . . . These people, having decided that

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it is impossible to persuade a brigand not to kill a child, think it also impossible to persuade the working men not to withhold the produce of their labor from those who do not work, and therefore these people find it necessary to coerce the laborers." Tolstoy realized that the aristocracy was afraid of losing "those conveniences of life which they enjoy."

Tolstoy was the greatest nay-sayer of all time. That is why he defended principles like those of the great abolitionist, William Lloyd Garrison, which, in his opinion, "affected and even overthrew all the foundations of established social order." That is why he disliked liberals who said, "Yes, but . . . " to the Munich and the Madrid of their time. Tolstoy said: "No." He was the only one to refuse the Nobel Prize. He had no patience with those liberals who are too "liberal" to draw conclusions. He wanted them to shed their quotation marks.

ONE of the paradoxes of Tolstoy's "gigantic disharmony" was his unreligious religion. For him, as he put it, "this inner law is the same as what we call reason, conscience, love, the Good, God. These words have different meanings, but they define one and the same thing from different angles." He was excommunicated in Russia and many of his writings were forbidden by civil, military and clerical authorities. Years after his death a French ecclesiastic censor who was officially proscribing his writings complained of his "mixture of mysticism, socialism, rationalism and nihilism," of his "disbelief in a future life," of his "impersonal" religion, and called his writings "subversive." Tolstoy's religiosity, which indistinguishably merged into ordinary life, had nothing to do with the "Slavic soul" or the "Russian pity" so often invoked by writers on Tolstoy less understanding than Professor Simmons. Tolstoy's attitude about religion is like that of the people in Harlem, where a parish house is a place of refuge for the common people from the "liberals" in power. It is akin also to that of the lower clergy in Europe who sided with the workers in the resistance and liberation movements.

Without fervor the truth can neither be found nor communicated. Tolstoy was a fanatic searcher for truth. He had the art to express it, the courage and skill to spread it. One of his articles protesting against the Czarist terror, copied by hand, appeared simultaneously in Russia and in many languages in other countries. In Germany alone it was printed in 200 publications.

Tolstoy knew that the truth is opposed by those who "wish that everything stays as it was and is." In Russia and all over the world Tolstoy created and addressed his own underground: the underground of decency.

WE CANNOT go with Tolstoy all the way, but only—as Plekhanov put it—"from here to there." His abstract doctrine of renunciation was far from scientific, but in him the truth triumphed over the rationalization. He would begin a page by saying, "The force of events does not lie at all in the material conditions of life but in the spiritual attitude of the people," only to say on the same page, "Many people know very well what the Russian people need most of all: the abolition of private property in land."

Tolstoy was critical of science. He demanded that it be practised in the interests of all and that it be made understandable to all. Can we who have watched the speed record in mass murder of women and children at Hiroshima contradict him? We have learned, as the Russian poet Zharov expresses it, that science has become "the slave of wars."

In our time it is not only the physical sciences, but also the psychological sciences that are abused. Psychiatrists write learned and unlearned treatises proving that fascism is a psychological phenomenon, that if Hitler had been psychoanalyzed in his youth the fires of Auschwitz would never have been lit. Science is misused to make us believe that fascism is a problem which is personal and not sociological, acute and not chronic, geographical and not universal.

Tolstoy also became critical of art, especially of art for art's sake. He extolled the importance of subject matter in art and literature and became the spokesman for an art that would be understandable to all. For this he has been much reproached and it has often been stated that he underestimated art. But is it not better to underestimate art than to underestimate people? Today Tolstoy's view of art, which stresses the sincerity and the social usefulness of the artist, seems to be still valuable as an antidote to the prevalent psycho-decadent view expressed by the editor of a fashionable English magazine: "The one golden recipe for Art is the ferment of an unhappy childhood working through a noble imagination." Such an esthete permits himself an unhappy childhood and gladly accepts for the rest of mankind an unhappy adulthood. Tolstoy was a better artist and a better man.

Tolstoy's novel *The Kreutzer Sonata* has been interpreted on a superficial level as an idealistic plea for chastity. But it is much more than that. We can hardly picture to ourselves now the enormous impression this novel made at the time it appeared. Before Freud he exposed the sham morality in sexual conventions. Maybe we have advanced somewhat along this line, but is not the same plea for sincerity and honesty in the whole subject of sex a crying need today? And with regard to a proper perspective on sex, it was Tolstoy who wrote, speaking of his followers in Canada: "The temptation of property is the gravest temptation."

HE KNEW not only the suffering of the oppressed but also the demoralization that goes with cruelty and indifference. Almost forty years ago he wrote: "One speaks and writes nowadays about executions, hangings, murders and bombs, as one formerly spoke of the weather." He wrote against lynchings in America. What would he say if he knew that almost a hundred years after he read *Uncle Tom's Cabin* lynching has still not been outlawed?

Tolstoy did not know the mechanics of social progress, but he prepared the soil in which progress can develop. His analysis of human misery was faulty, but his persistence in exposing it was magnificent. In clear and simple language he spoke to the oppressed and the humiliated all over the world. He taught them the dignity of indignation.

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We are living in a time when minds are being deliberately poisoned. The people want peace. But when they read the newspapers they are subtly aroused to suspicion by a continuous stream of insinuations against the country of Tolstoy. All information from Russia is carefully sifted and there is a fierce struggle for survival of the news that is "fittest" to print in this campaign.

War is being prepared now if it ever was. It is a psychological trick that is being practised on the American people. One opinion poll after another, editorials and magazine articles, tell them that they are getting more and more afraid of Russia, until they really are. Every evening, commentators over the radio give iron-curtain lectures. War is on the air and in the air.

The life and work of Tolstoy, the author of *War and Peace,* the great artist, the prophet against evil, has many overtones and meanings. But today, here and now, they mean only one thing—that it is up to us to have the courage to give an unequivocal answer to the question: War OR peace?

FREDERIC WERTHAM

Frederic Wertham is president of the Association for the Advancement of Psychotherapy and Senior Psychiatrist of the New York Department of Hospitals. He is the author of The Brain as an Organ *and* Dark Legend: A Study in Murder.

No Joke, Son

THE Messrs. Simon and Schuster, in offering the nightmare known as *Mr. Blandings Builds His Dream House* by Eric Hodgins for $2.75, throw in the assurance that you will be wreathed in smiles from the first page to the last. Maybe this is the technique of the night-club master of ceremonies who introduces "the funniest guy on earth" and bullies cranky guests like me into saying, "Go ahead and make me laugh." It is a book conceived as a farce, and like most farces its plot is so relentlessly concerned with human frustration that it is indistinguishable from the material of tragedy. Very little would have to be done with Hodgins' characters, as he sees them, to make this the notebook draft of an unwritten play by Ibsen.

Hodgins, for all his Menckenesque approach, is misrepresented as an Amer-

Drawing by William Steig, from Mr. Blandings Builds His Dream House, *reprinted with permission.*

ican humorist. The native formula for wreathéd smiles, from Mark Twain to Thurber and Hope, is to take a thoroughly normal situation, put your comic hero in there as a conscientious citizen, and watch him gum up the works by the literalness with which he tries to do his law-abiding duty. The pay-off in laughter in that society is made to look like a lunatic. Recall Thurber's experience with his draft board, in which he has so much trouble with his eyes, and is shunted so often from one doctor to another, that he gets to be taken for a doctor himself and winds up drawing the attention of a specialist to a loud ticking noise in the diaphragm of a draftee. "You, my man," says the specialist gravely, "have swallowed a watch." The draftee reddens. "On purpose?" he asks. Here the whole medical profession has its pretensions exploded by a dead-pan draftee and by the guileless Thurber they take for one of themselves ("I had my clothes on at the time," he explains, "I doubt I could have swung it naked").

But in *Mr. Blandings,* it is society itself that tricks the hero up nightmare alley, locks the door on him and sits back ruthless and unassailable. It's too true to be funny. And while admiring Hodgins' way with a metaphor, and marveling at his documentary knowledge of architects' drawings, title deeds and well-drilling, I found myself panting for a single episode that would show Mr. Blandings winning a single trick. Humor sets in when, by accident or a screwy logic, the little guy who is you and me unwittingly takes respectability over the jumps. It never happens. I never before felt so sympathetic toward the downtrodden breed of $25,000-a-year advertising executives, or so murderously inclined toward such solid up-country characters as old man Hackett, the humble farmer, Mr. Apollonio, construction engineer, Joe Perlaski, house wrecker, John Tesander, well-driller, and a dozen other bland swindlers, who together milk Mr. Blandings for $56,263 on an original purchase of a farmhouse offered for $11,000 net.

In other words, this book is as funny as *Bleak House,* but whereas Parliament went after the exploitation of wards in Chancery, so that we can now enjoy a retrospective sadism in reading Dickens, there's not a laugh in a Hodgins line until Congress gets after the realtors, junk proprietors, builders, country bankers, painters, plumbers and subcontractors who were born to cheat honest liberals like James H. Blandings and keep him in New York, through a sweaty summer, botching his art (which is the highly social and creative task in our democracy of composing the Knapp laxative copy for Banton & Dascomb). I hope Henry Wallace will take this up at once with good, graying Senator Taft.

ALISTAIR COOKE

Alistair Cooke is the United Nations correspondent of the Manchester Guardian *and special correspondent on American affairs for the British Broadcasting Company.*

Converting Congress

CONGRESS AT THE CROSSROADS (Crowell, $3.50), by George B. Galloway, staff director of the Joint Committee on the Organization of Congress, is a vivid picture of an antiquated nineteenth-century mechanism coping unsuccessfully with twentieth-century problems.

The Legislative Reorganization Act adopted last August represents only the beginning of a long-due modernization

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of both houses of Congress. Spurred on by the lure of a $2,500 pay increase and a retirement system, which were shrewdly incorporated in the Joint Committee's reorganization proposal, Congress reduced the number and size of its committees, eliminated overlapping jurisdictions and provided them with professional assistance. It also expanded considerably its bill-drafting and research services, required lobbyists to file financial reports and eliminated a back-breaking load of petty legislation by providing for the administrative handling of private claims and the building of bridges over navigable streams.

But, as Dr. Galloway points out, much remains to be done. Congress will continue to be bogged down in petty detail (*e. g.*, enacting ordinances for the District of Columbia); will still be throttled by the filibuster in the Senate (the rules under which the Senate functions have not been revised since 1884); will still spend 80 percent of its time running errands for constituents; will still, because of the lack of party responsibility, party discipline and adequate information, "bring the vision of a parish to the politics of the planet."

Congress swallowed the reorganization medicine because it was sugar-coated. It must now grapple with even more difficult problems without any bribes. Its splintered, dispersed leadership must be unified, its helter-skelter consideration of bills must make way for a coherent legislative program, its jealous fear of the sprawling bureaucracy it has created must be replaced by setting up machinery to ventilate grievances, control expenditure, review performance and supervise policy. It must finally modernize its rules to avoid the unwholesome domination of the Rules Committee in the House or minority rule in the Senate. If it wishes to survive in an atomic age it must complete the reorganization Dr. Galloway has so cogently and comprehensively described.

WILL MASLOW

Will Maslow is the Director of the Commission on Law and Social Action of the American Jewish Congress. He formerly was Director of Field Operations for the President's Fair Employment Practice Committee.

Labor

Lewis in Court

THE great labor debate of 1947 shifted to the Supreme Court last week, as nine grave and learned Justices heard oral arguments on whether John L. Lewis had "contemned" U. S. District Court Judge T. Alan Goldsborough by refusing to obey his injunctive order to call off the November strike.

Since it is highly possible that the Court may hand down its decision in the Lewis case before Congress gets around to passing anti-labor laws, the effect of the Justices' ruling may be impressive. If a majority should uphold Lewis, and the right to strike, in rather ringing language, the anti-labor forces in Congress would have something to reckon with. So would President Truman.

The oral arguments before the Court had their amusing aspects. Attorney General Tom Clark made a fervent address, opening the government's case, which the Justices solemnly heard without interposing a single question and which the United Mine Workers' counsel, Welly K. Hopkins, later described as more appropriate to a "political forum."

Mr. Justice Felix Frankfurter, who helped draft the Norris-LaGuardia Act, had to study nearly two dozen extracts from his own writings which were cited in briefs upholding Lewis. Whether Frankfurter was moved by these quotations of what he doubtless agrees is eminent authority remains to be determined.

Joseph Padway, AFL counsel who argued against the government's injunctive attack on Lewis, didn't get around to discussing an interesting legal point which may eventually prove decisive—the question whether, even if Judge Goldsborough had no power to issue an injunction, Lewis had the right to ignore the court's orders pending a decision by higher courts on their legality. At the end of Padway's argument, Frankfurter snapped, "You didn't argue the most important point of all."

Associate Justice Robert H. Jackson seemed annoyed at the course of the discussion. He told Assistant Attorney General John Sonnett, who argued the legal parts of the government's case, "You'd better not devote any further time to psychoanalyzing members of Congress. The Court likewise has spent too much of its time in the psychoanalysis of Congress." Just then Frankfurter dropped a pile of documents with a loud thud, and the Court's dignity remained untilted.

HEARINGS on bills to limit portal-to-portal lawsuits began Wednesday before a Senate Judiciary Subcommittee, headed by the estimable Forrest H. Donnell of Missouri, one of the most maddeningly conscientious members of Congress. Donnell's rectitude was not sufficient to keep the Senate Republican majority from placing these bills before the Judiciary Committee rather than the Labor and Public Welfare Committee.

Senator Vandenberg, president pro tem, at one moment last week thought the bills ought to go to Labor and Public Welfare. But Taft, chairman of the latter group, seemed to have no deep interest in the subject. In fact, he gave every evidence of preserving his "moderate" position on labor legislation.

WHILE the battle of labor continued on Capitol Hill and in the Court, the AFL National Farm Labor Union, an outgrowth of the depression-inspired Southern Tenant Farmers' Union, held its annual convention in Washington. A few points made by AFL President William Green, in his address to the convention, should prove instructive.

The National Farm Labor Union does not try to "organize" individual hired hands on family-size farms; it is aimed at millions of agricultural workers who labor for "factories in the fields." These workers are outside the protection of the National Labor Relations Act, outside the social-security system, outside the protection of the Fair Labor Standards Act. They are treated, Green stated, as "second-class citizens."

WILLARD SHELTON

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Bandwagon

A Thought for Today

The happiness of one of the world's most charming couples in love may depend upon whether the United States is willing to extend further financial subsidy to Britain's foreign policy in Greece. – *George Weller in the Los Angeles* Times.

Come Again?

The Times asserted that the ease with which the bomb parts were made "under the very noses of Detroiters" is regarded as the outstanding argument against any plan for sharing the atom secret. – *INS dispatch from Detroit.*

Good Will Toward Men

Quality-men's-wear store desires salesmen of poise, good appearance and ability to meet the public for holiday work; experience desirable; post-season possibilities; discount. You will find pickets outside our store, but inside it's business with the Christmas spirit. – *From an ad in the Oakland (California)* Tribune.

Much Too Good for Them

Marriage is more sacred to the American middle class than to either the rich or the poor, according to Professor Carl C. Zimmerman, Harvard sociologist. "The upper classes are promiscuous, but try to hide it behind a façade of respectability," he said. "The lower classes are coming to believe that the privilege of sex is universal." – *From the Chicago* Daily News.

That Wartime Madness

Lane Bryant will be the first major retail store to come to Fifth [Avenue] since 1940 when the war hysteria precluded the spending of money on projects not associated with the war. – *From the New York* Herald Tribune.

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Movies

None But the Brave

AS I SAT watching scenes in the sunlit woods of "The Yearling," I remembered that Walt Whitman once wrote, "The early lilacs became part of this child, and the grass, and the white and red morning-glories, and the white and red clover, and the song of the phoebe-bird."

"The Yearling" now becomes the authority on the devotion between a boy and a deer, in contrast to "Bambi," which was pretty much all deer. It should be seen by every child and by seven out of ten of the adults customarily found in the company of children. It will, in all likelihood, be enjoyed by enough people to warrant the trouble and expense of its production.

In most respects it is a wonderful picture—beautiful and moving, honorable and big, and I recommend it. I wish the Technicolor weren't quite so blindingly bright; it is disconcerting to see physical suffering in pure primary color. And instead of the old orchestral accompaniment which really bothered no one, this movie (like a lot of others recently) employs in moments of high emotional tension a background that sounds like a chorus of hundreds of ladies wailing.

Good as "The Yearling" is, it seems to me that some of the greatest talents in picture-making—Clarence Brown, who also made "National Velvet"; the intrepid Sidney Franklin, who has produced "The Yearling" at a staggering cost; and the most ingenious technical staff available anywhere—have shown in this instance more courage than artistry. However, it is going to be a smashing success and can do no one anything but good.

"The Yearling" is the story of a rugged, handsome, heroic pioneer family surviving in a cleared patch of the scrub-pine country near Ocala, Florida. Penny Baxter and his wife, "Ma," succeed in raising the last of their offspring, Jody. He is a pretty, blond boy of eleven, who gets along wonderfully with his happy-go-lucky father and teams up with him to keep the peace with "Ma." A once light-hearted girl, "Ma" has been embittered by life and is determined to expose her heart to no more blows. She is my favorite character in the film and the rage she goes around in is a joy to see.

Fodderwing Forrester, Jody's contemporary and friend, is not only touching, like Jody, but interesting as well. He's a crippled boy (he once tried to fly) and he lives in a tree, and Jody and Penny like to wander off there for a visit when "Ma" gets riled, which is mighty often. Fodderwing is played with fine feeling by a youngster named Donn Gift.

Probably the most dramatic incident in the film, and certainly the climax, is the passage in which Flag comes into Jody's life. It starts when Penny gets bitten by a snake. Trying not to show how "bad bit" he is, and thinking fast, he shoots a deer that seems to be just standing dreaming in a little clearing. Then he directs Jody, an obedient son and strong for his age, to rip out the animal's heart and kidneys. Jody does this in no time and Penny slaps the entrails over the fang marks to draw the poison. Meanwhile the doe is dead, the fawn is motherless, and the scene is set for the now famous friendship.

Illustration by Edward Shenton from "The Yearling" (Chas. Scribner's Sons)

"The Yearling" is one of the three most important pictures of the new season. It took 91 months to make and the details of its production are fascinating. Here are a few of them: 469 assorted animals were used, including 126 deer; "Slasher," the rattlesnake, competed with 400 other snakes to win the part; and some items, selected with delight and at random, include 112 rolls of hardware cloth, 1,350 rods of woven-wire fence and 147 kegs of nails. I haven't space to tell you how far everyone traveled or how many salt pills they consumed doing it. Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer produced "The Yearling"; Gregory Peck plays Penny; Jane Wyman, the girl who did such a good job in "The Lost Weekend," is "Ma" Baxter; and Claude Jarman Jr., in his first role, stars as Jody. The film, as everyone must know, is from Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings' Pulitzer Prize novel.

13 RUE MADELEINE is an entertaining spy story of derring-do. It was produced by Louis de Rochemont, a bright man who also made "The House on 92nd Street." Both of these films are about the activities and adventures of our government agents against the Nazis, here and abroad. The first part of this picture, the training of Group 77 of our Secret Service for overseas duty, is even more exciting and informative than the second half, when the actual mission is being carried out. In "13 Rue Madeleine" you will find all the nostalgic, nasty punches—the holds in judo that have served us all in our time. You'll see the Cloture, the Spread Eagle, the Dervish, the Mud Turtle and the Shears (*that* one I had almost forgotten, rusty as I am) and a terror called Swallowing the Apple—the edge of the hand to the throat.

For fun, and for a refresher course and to see a movie in which no one is in love with anyone, go see "13 Rue Madeleine." James Cagney, Annabella, Richard Conte, Walter Abel and Frank Latimore are excellent, as are the locales and the plot. The villain of the piece is a Gestapo agent who is likely to take away your very last poison pill and then have you flogged, in relays, by whatever burly animal-men he has at hand.

SHIRLEY O'HARA

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Music

"The Warrior" Bites the Dust

RESPONSIBILITY for the failure of "The Warrior," with which the Metropolitan is now reaffirming its affection for American opera after a decade of inattention, may be divided among three of its collaborators—Norman Corwin, the librettist, Samuel Leve, the scene designer, and Herbert Graf, the stage director. Bernard Rogers, who composed the score, deserves to be shielded from attack, for he is an impeccable and resourceful craftsman who lacks only the practical theatre sense his colleagues should have supplied.

Corwin's book, a rehash of the Samson and Delilah story, was first presented to the public as a radio script. Since it combines an essentially narrative rather than dramatic technique with large-sounding philosophic utterances in the manner of Maxwell Anderson, it permits very little stage action. It also gets dull when passages about man's low animal instincts or the superior cleverness of woman are slowed down to the pace required for musical delivery. Lines like "Not even the despised jackal guffaws astride the kill" and "Whatever furies armor cannot fend/Softness will soon enough devour" are not the stuff from which an intelligible or swift-moving operatic libretto is made; nor, for that matter, are they good poetry.

In working out a single setting for the four scattered locations in which the story takes place, Samuel Leve could think of nothing better to use than a conventional 1930 abstract German design, with two columns in the background flanked by symmetrical flights of steps. In the first scene, Samson's bed is perched on a landing, and the hero seems in danger of falling out and rolling down the staircase. At the end, when Samson destroys the temple of Dagon, he cannot reach both of the widely spaced pillars; when he pushes the one at his right, the other falls over with convenient synchronization.

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MAGAZINE

WHERE
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FEBRUARY ISSUE OF
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so useless a setting, Herbert Graf presumably did all he could to repair the situation. It was not enough. The crowds, in the few brief moments when they are on hand to liven things up, are hamstrung by the cramped space and the multitude of steps. Regina Resnik, as Delilah, assumes a variety of hortatory postures which apparently do not embarrass her, even though they do not come off quite naturally. Expressionistic staging, though outmoded, can still look effective, but it has to be perfected above a high-school or little-theatre level.

IN THE midst of these crudities Bernard Rogers' carefully written score inevitably passes too little noticed. Unfortunately, his admiration for Corwin's text has caused him to limit himself to the provision of little more than background music. He might find it instructive to read Verdi's exchange of letters with Ghislanzoni over the libretto of "Aïda" in order to learn how ruthless a composer often has to be to secure a direct, workable and stagewise book. Rogers has been unable to elaborate musical forms with independent interest. The score is a play-by-play commentary an hour long, and at the end no impression of musical totality has been established.

The declamatory vocal parts, while lacking in melodic interest, follow the inflections of English prosody with rare naturalness. A new record for intelligibility is set by Miss Resnik and Mack Harrell, the Samson. It is their misfortune that not many people will want to hear them in "The Warrior" more than once.

IN ONE of the oddest pairings in operatic history, the première of "The Warrior" was followed on the same bill by a repetition of the Metropolitan's Christmas revival of "Hansel and Gretel." One can only hope that the children in the audience escaped nightmares after seeing Samson's eyes gouged out with a red-hot iron. At any rate "Hansel and Gretel" was done prettily, and the angels were probably undisputed winners in the battle for the children's interest. Nadine Conner sang so exquisitely that Gretel seemed to have become one of the angels herself, and Risë Stevens' Hansel was really boyish. Moreover, the Metropolitan has finally discovered what everyone else has known for years—that "Hansel and Gretel" translates delightfully into English.

THE night before the first presentation of "The Warrior" the largest claque in many seasons gave a noisy welcome to Ferrucio Tagliavini, a new tenor arrived from Italy by way of the San Francisco and Chicago opera companies. He did not need the insurance of a claque, for he is the most capable Italian tenor to come our way in a long time. His voice is smaller than Gigli's and much less lustrous, and he has a tendency to push his top tones beyond the limit of their pleasantest sound. Nevertheless, at his début in "La Bohème" he sang with a consistently smooth line and attractive fervor. His stage presence is more than usually winning, for he possesses real graciousness and a glint of humor, attributes which set him apart from most Italian tenors. Tenors are numerous on the Metropolitan's roster, but not generally high in quality, and Tagliavini will undoubtedly find a substantial following.

AWAY from the Metropolitan, the return of Jacques Thibaud after a long absence was one of the happiest of recent events. Playing Lalo's "Symphony Espagnole" with Leopold Stokowski and the Philharmonic Symphony Orchestra, the violinist reminded us again of the completely ingratiating nature of French musical performance when the head and the heart are in control of each other. In this program Thibaud's reappearance shared the interest with the Symphony in E Flat by Paul Hindemith, the only living composer fully able to understand and create in a large work the kind of urgent and continuous rhythmic evolution which, above everything else, makes the Beethoven symphonies such masterpieces. Melodically, Hindemith is not always too inventive, and in orchestration he is enamored of rather thick and brassy masses. But he does know how to write a symphony that is neither fragmentary nor repetitious. In this respect he has very little competition except from Stravinsky nowadays.

CECIL SMITH

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Correspondence

The Neighborhood Level

SIR: In Helen Fuller's article in the *New Republic* of January 13 she points out that "if liberalism is to win in 1948 . . . everything depends on how many citizens get together with their neighbors and go into politics on their own. Citywide and statewide organizations are useful and exciting, but ward and precinct organizations get more concrete results with less talk. . . . The city block and the rural box are still the foundation on which progressivism has to be built."

We at the PCA agree most emphatically with Miss Fuller in concluding that the future of progressive political action hinges upon the extent to which local participation is possible. But we would like to point out that the author neglected to mention that most of the 300 delegates at the PCA's founding convention are the very people who have been using this "backyard approach" to politics ever since '44. True, they represented citywide and statewide organizations, but many of these have long since been broken down into ward and, in some cases, precinct groups. The major significance of the PCA convention was that it represented a merger, not just of two national organizations, but of acting groups on the *community* level. It's the degree of organization on the neighborhood level that will pay off in assuring a progressive candidate in '48.

However, among its many obvious functions the national office has one vital role which Miss Fuller also neglected to mention. City and state organizations, from which community groups usually stem, do not spring full-blown. In most cases a national organization has taken the initiative and paid the expenses of organizing such a committee. Permit us to cite one of many examples: Last May, the NCPAC sent an organizer into Denver. He helped amalgamate several small liberal groups, set up the Rocky Mountain Council for Social Action, broke its structure down into ward committees (please note) and whipped it into an effective political unit. Result: a major reason why progressive Democrat John Carroll battled successfully against the Republican tide and is now in Congress.

The essential organizational approach of the PCA is that of the ward and precinct. Our goal is to expand such a political framework until it embraces all of our present committees and to establish new committees in states where we are not now represented. The time is short—but it won't seem so short if liberals will stop talking and will join with us in this really desperate race against time.

JO DAVIDSON and FRANK KINGDON,
Co-Chairmen,
Progressive Citizens of America
New York City

Foster May Explains

SIR: Upon resubscribing to your Voice in the Wilderness I found the first issue [December 16] under the aegis of the distinguished Henry Wallace somewhat of a shock. May I explain?

In the profile of Senator Kenneth Wherry was this line: "Foster May, a radio voice attached to a considerable ego, got the Democratic nomination." The paragraph concluded with a reference to "the combined wind of Wherry and May . . ." and a statement to the effect that the Democratic organization in Nebraska actively opposed the late great George Norris in his last campaign. . . .

I "got" the Democratic senatorial nomination in Nebraska by winning it in the toughest seven-man race in the history of the party in that state. I "got" it by resigning a $15,000-per-year position as head of the largest and most modern news department of any single radio station in America. The primary victory was made possible by the active volunteer work of thousands of loyal friends and listeners who formed themselves into one of the most remarkable political organizations in Midwestern political history. Finally, I "got" the nomination after receiving positive and absolute assurance from Senator Norris that he would, under no circumstances, be a candidate.

In the midst of the general campaign certain individuals in Washington suddenly asked me to withdraw. It was shown very clearly to these people that, because of the unique nature of my support, withdrawal would only result in the angry desertion of thousands of supporters—personal, not political—who would in all probability turn to Wherry and absolutely assure his election.

On the basis of the above facts, I regretfully declined to withdraw and carried on with a straight Progressive, New Deal campaign—against disheartening odds. . . .

Having moved to California following a tour of duty in the war in Europe as a correspondent, I am no longer actively interested in Nebraska politics. . . .

FOSTER MAY, Manager
News and Special Events, ABC,
Los Angeles, Calif. Los Angeles

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Letter of the Week

(*Continued from page 3*)

icans for Democratic Action has been born at a moment when conservatism is in the saddle and riding high. Yet its sponsors were agreed that "the battle has just begun."

This meeting, we believe, was the signal for the liberal counterattack. It was also a declaration of liberal independence from the stifling and paralyzing influence of the Communists and their apologists in America. The ADA is fully aware that rejection of any alliance with Communists gives no automatic assurance of affirmative success in the grave struggles ahead. It was recognized, however, that this step was an essential prerequisite to the aggressive fight for democracy that we propose to wage. No movement that maintains a double standard on the issue of human liberty can lay claim to the American liberal tradition.

The ADA's unequivocal rejection of any ties with the Communists reflects more than expedient awareness of the political kiss of death which they bestow; it expresses the painfully acquired conviction of American progressives that there can be no organizational compatability between Communists and liberals, regardless of any coincidental agreement on specific issues.

Only the Rankin mentality views the Communists as capable of seizing political power in America in the foreseeable future. They do not menace democratic survival except in the indirect sense that they are a menace to the vitality and independence of the American progressive movement. . . .

INEVITABLY, some newspapers have pictured the ADA's formation as a "split" in liberal ranks. We regret that the sophisticated *New Republic* should have given the same emphasis in Helen Fuller's recent survey of liberal forces. Her analysis totally misses the historic importance of the ADA—the organization of a broader coalition of liberal-labor leadership than has been attained in this generation.

The Communists and some of their spokesmen have naturally endeavored to equate the ADA's rejection of Communists with an inflexible and doctrinaire "anti-Sovietism." That distortion is characteristic of Communist thought processes. We doubt that many liberals will any longer find it persuasive. The ADA does not offer a blueprint for American-Russian relations. It recognizes that the USSR should be viewed neither as the perennial villain of the international show nor as the fixed point of international virtue. It acknowledges room for honest difference of opinion on the strategic details of diplomatic negotiations in the quest for an enduring peace. It rejects both Soviet orthodoxy and American jingoism. It denies the thesis that all Russian actions are a product of American and British sins, and it emphatically contends that the methods of the police state are abhorrent to progressives, whether practised in Eastern Europe or in Franco Spain.

THE press has understandingly exaggerated the picture of a "split" among American liberals and given disproportionate space to elaborating the ADA's relations with pro-Communist groups and with those liberals who still favor collaboration with Communists (or just pretend that Communists do not exist). But the spirit of the "founding fathers" of the ADA was passionately affirmative and pro-democratic. If I correctly interpret their mood, they want to work for a world society in which the four freedoms have more than rhetorical meaning and peace is founded on real understanding. They want to cross new frontiers of opportunity and social reform in America. They know that fascism was not finally buried in the graves of the Nazi leaders and that hunger and misery are still the carriers of the fascist plague. They have resolved the Communist issue swiftly and decisively so that liberals may be free to organize their lines and fight the battles against reaction without artificial cries of "unity" and disingenuous charges of "Red-baiting."

We believe millions of Americans want to identify themselves with a movement dedicated to liberty, tolerance and justice that recognizes liberalism as a positive and militant credo and that instinctively and wholeheartedly rebels against suppression and terrorism in any form or any disguise. The spontaneous coast-to-coast response that has greeted the ADA's establishment justifies our confidence.

Washington JAMES LOEB JR.

New Republic News

Commando

ABOUT five o'clock one day last week cries were heard through the transom of one of the offices off the main corridor. It seemed that Hale and White, joint editors of the middle features, had shut their door for a quiet go at editorial concentration and had later discovered that they couldn't open it. It wasn't locked; just wouldn't open.

We called the handy man, who fiddled around for a bit with the catch, but it wasn't the kind that yields to screw drivers or buttonhooks, and the prisoners were getting restless. A few of the more burly staff members threw themselves at the obstruction and retired with bruised shoulders.

About then Brennan, who isn't particularly burly but who has exceptionally long legs, happened by with an armful of artwork. He ordered the crowd to stand aside, warned the trapped pair to take cover, lay down on his back, drew his knees up to his chin, and loosed a double-heeled blow of a violence rarely seen outside Missouri mule circles. Hale and White walked out free men.

This trick of Brennan's impresses us every time he does it. The last time we saw it was at the door of an apartment in a corridor above the American Embassy in Grosvenor Square. That door was steel, and locked, but the sirens had sounded; we could hear a distant buzzing and our need was urgent. He got us in OK.

The secret, in case you ever want to open a door in a hurry, is to aim your heels as close as possible to the knob. It's wise to kick accurately.

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